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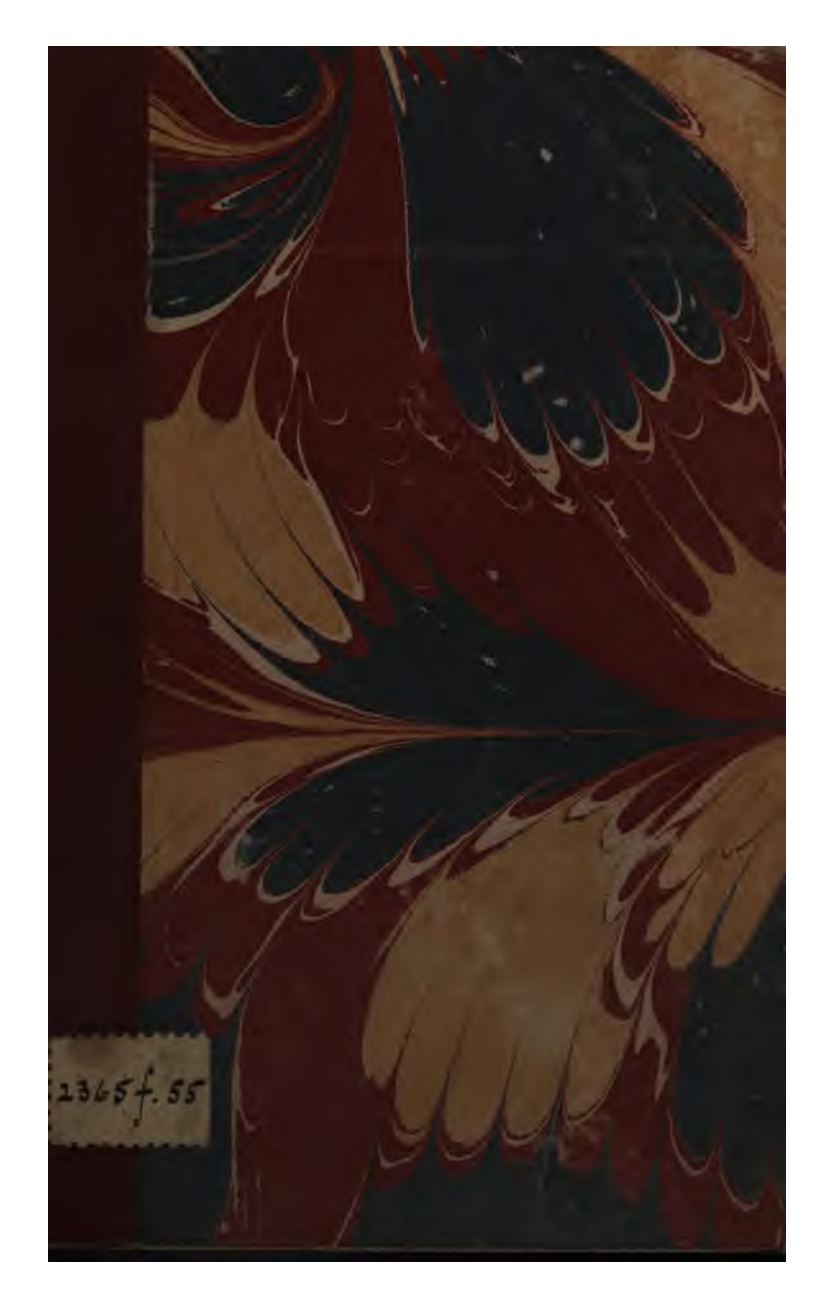
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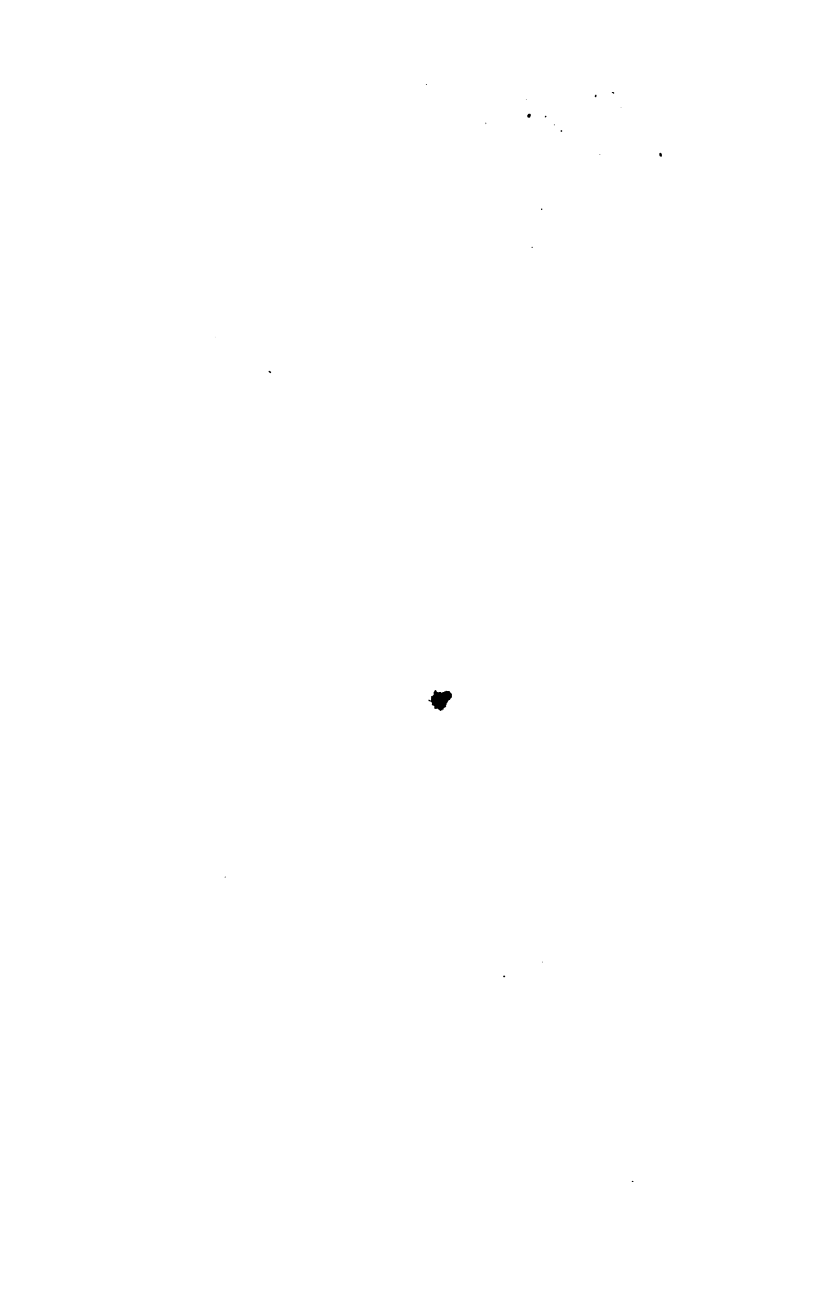
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HEADS OF AN ANALYSIS
OF
ROMAN HISTORY,
WITH BRIEF EXTRACTS
FROM STANDARD AUTHORITIES,
FOR
THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

BY
DAWSON W. TURNER, M.A.
LATE DEMY AND EXHIBITIONER OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD;
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LIVERPOOL.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.
MDCCCL.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR,

HEADS OF AN ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH
AND OF FRENCH HISTORY,

WITH A BRIEF NOTICE

OF .

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS,

FOR

THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

Second Edition. 2s.

NOTICE.

IN compiling the following little work, I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to confine myself to what might be really useful to students at the Universities, and to the higher classes in schools. Though I have made use of the work of Michelet, in common with the other histories of Rome, to which I am so greatly indebted, my desire has been to avail myself of his graphic power of description, without intending to cite him as authority for any statement which is not borne out by other and more exact writers. It should be observed that no attempt has been made to carry the sketch, with any degree of completeness, beyond the reign of Tiberius—a period which will probably be sufficient for the wants of the generality of students. I gladly avail myself of the present opportunity of acknowledging the kind assistance that has been given me in the present work, and on numerous other occasions, by my friend, Mr. John G. Sheppard, late Fellow of Wadham, and Second Master of Repton Grammar School.

Royal Institution School, Liverpool,

March, 1850.

AUTHORITIES QUOTED FROM.

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ANALYSIS OF ROMAN HISTORY.

'THERE is something solemn, and evidently providential, in the unbroken advance and ultimate boundless dominion of Rome. The history of other nations corresponds nearly to the vicissitudes of prosperity and disaster, of good and evil fortune, which we observe in the nations of the world at this time. The brilliant meteor of Athenian greatness disappeared from the world almost as soon as the bloody phantasmagoria of the French Revolution. In half a century after they arose, nought remained of either but the works of genius they had produced, and the deeds of glory they had done. The wonders of Napoleon's reign faded as rapidly as the triumphs of the Macedonian conqueror; and the distant lustre of Babylon and Nineveh is faintly recalled by the ephemeral dynasties which have arisen under the pressure of Arabian or Mongol conquest, in the regions of the east in modern times. But, in the Roman annals, a different and mightier system develops itself. From the infancy of the republic, from the days even of the kings, and the fabulous reigns of Romulus and Numa, an unbroken progress is exhibited, which never experienced a permanent reverse till the eagles of the republic had crossed the Euphrates, and all the civilized world, from the wall of Antoninus to the foot of Mount Atlas, was subjected to their arms. Their reverses, equally with their triumphs—their defeats, equally with their victories—their infant struggles with cities of Latium, not less than their later contests with Carthage and Mithridates, contributed to develop their strength, and may be regarded as the direct causes of their dominion. It was in the long wars with the Etruscan and Samnite communities that the discipline and tactics were slowly and painfully acquired which enabled them to face the banded strength of the Carthaginian confederacy, and, in the desperate struggle with Hannibal, that the resolution and skill were drawn forth, which so soon, on its termination, gave them the empire of the world. The durability of the fabric was in proportion to the tardiness of its growth and the solidity of its materials. The twelve vultures which Romulus beheld on the Palatine Hill, were emblematic of the twelve centuries which beheld the existence of the Empire of the West; and it required a thousand years more of corruption and decline to extinguish in the east this brilliant empire, which, regenerated by the genius of Constantine, found, in the riches and matchless situation of Byzantium, a counterpoise to all the effeminacy of oriental manners, and all the ferocity of the Scythian tribes.'—*B.*

'The natural divisions of the subject appear to be the Gaulish invasion; the conquest of Italy after the repulse of Pyrrhus; the conquest of the world, or of all that could offer any effectual resistance in the Punic or Macedonian wars; the civil wars from the Gracchi to Actium; the maturity of the empire from Augustus to M. Aurelius; the decline of the empire, and of paganism, from Commodus to Honorius; the chaos out of which the new creation of modern society has come, from Alaric to Charlemagne.'—A.

SOURCES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF ROME.

'Niebuhr shows that the history of Rome, from its foundation to the death of the last Tarquin, is drawn from two distinct sources, and compounded of two distinct elements. All the memorials of institutions and laws and ceremonies which it involves, all matters relating to the polity or the superstition of Rome, were drawn from the pontifical books, or from similar registers of the priests and augurs; for, in the rudeness and superstition of the earlier ages, when the government was entirely in the hands of the patrician caste, whose exclusive privileges were upheld and guarded by religious and ceremonial distinctions, the records of the priests and pontiffs were at the same time the only civil archives. All the stories of the early history, all the legends of individual exploits, were merely popular traditions; and, like all popular traditions, poetic in their spirit, and it appears highly probable, originally poetic in their form. Niebuhr has given strong reasons for believing that the grand stories of the early Roman history were the subjects of lays—it may be of ballads, it may be of heroic poems—composed by genuine national poets, in the old native tongue and the old native metres; and from these they passed into the prose chronicles of the annalists, and into the hexameters of Ennius, the chief of the generation of imitators of the Greeks, who overlay what might have been the genuine literature of Rome, and put a changeling in its place. Such, in fact, was its predicament even in the days of Augustus, when Livy and Dionysius put it into the form in which we now have it. The traditions had passed from annalist to annalist; the original legends or lays had long since perished; and even had the latter historians been critically inclined, no records remained by which their truth could be tried, except some legal and ceremonial traditions of the pontifical books, which, from their nature, recounted very few historical facts, and which were themselves open to much suspicion, from causes which will be specified presently. But the ancient historians were very seldom critical. Livy and Dionysius made as good a story as they could of their materials—each in his own style, and they have left us the task of comparing their narratives and estimating their truth. The result is, that in the very early period which we have marked out, little or no certainty can be attained. Much of the common story is demonstrably false; some few statements may be admitted as true; but of much that is told, it seems impossible to form an opinion whether it is true or false.'—E. R.

ROME FOUNDED, B.C. 753, according to Varro.

[LEGENDS OF ÆNEAS, ASCANIUS, AND ROMULUS].

'That what is called the history of the kings and early consuls of Rome is to a great extent fabulous, few scholars have, since the time of Beaufort, ventured to deny. It is certain that, more than three hundred and sixty years after the date ordinarily assigned for the foundation of the city, the public records were, with scarcely an exception, destroyed by the Gauls. It is certain that the oldest annals of the commonwealth were compiled more than a century and a half after the destruction of the records. It is certain, therefore, that the great Latin writers of the Augustan age did not possess those materials, without which a trustworthy account of the infancy of the republic could not possibly be framed. Those writers own, indeed, that the chronicles to which they had access were filled with battles that were never fought, and consuls that were never inaugurated; and we have abundant proof that, in these chronicles, events of the greatest importance, such as the issue of the war with Porsena, and the issue of the war with Brennus, were grossly misrepresented.'—*Mac.*

'Exaggerated and embellished as the most ancient traditions of the Romans respecting the origin may be, they all agree in this—that the Romans belonged to the race of the Latins, and that their city was a colony of the neighbouring Alba Longa.'—*H.* 'It is probable that the Latins belonged to that great race which, in very early times, overspread both Greece and Italy, under the various names of Pelasgians, Tyrrhenians, and Sicilians, mixed with and conquered by the Oscans, (also called Cascans, the aborigines of central Italy,) so that the latter were the ruling class of the united nation; the former were its subjects.'—*A.*

'The connexion of the Latin language with the Greek is manifest, but there is another element besides that which it has in common with the Greek; this element belongs to the languages of central Italy, and may be called Oscan. Further, Niebuhr has remarked that, whilst the terms relating to agriculture and domestic life are mostly derived from the Greek part of the language, those relating to arms and war are mostly Oscan.'—*A.*

'Besides the traces of affinity between the Latins and the Pelasgians, in their language, both written and spoken, we are able to distinguish in the early and unadulterated mythology of Latium strong features of resemblance to the religion of Greece; and this resemblance is most distinctly visible when we compare the objects of Italian worship with the old Pelasgian gods, which were, for the most part, personifications of the elements and powers of nature.'—*M.*

THEORY OF NIEBUHR,

that Roma, (a name which is not Latin,* but which has a Greek look, like that of the neighbouring town, Pyrgi,)

* Three derivations have been given of the name Rome. 1. The Greek *Ῥώμη*, strength. 2. The old Latin word *ruma*—i. e., mamma, a breast (viz., of the she-wolf). 3. From *Rumo*, cognate with *ῥέω*, *ῥέομαι*, the ancient name of the Tiber.

was a little town of the Sicelians or Tyrrhenians, on the Palatine Hill, belonging at one time to the number of the thirty Latin towns which acknowledged the supremacy of Alba; that upon what was in early times called the Agonian Hill, (of which the Capitoline may be considered the citadel,) afterwards known as the Quirinal, stood the little Sabine town of Quirium, with which the people of Rome, probably by conquest, became incorporated—hence the title of the whole body of the Roman citizens, *populus Romanus*, or *Quirites*; that a third element, the *Luceres*, citizens of *Lucerum*, a separate Etruscan town on the Cælian Hill, was introduced into the population of Rome, but not received on an equality with the other two till much later. The whole population, therefore, of the united city of Rome, consisted of three tribes—the ancient Roman and Sabine citizens of the two towns, Rome and Quirium, who became (when their confederacy was converted into a union) the members of the two tribes, the *RAMNES* and the *TITIES*, so named from their royal founders, and the Etruscans of *Lucerum*, who were called *LUCERES*, and who were for a considerable time in a state of subjection to the other tribes, from which they emerged only by degrees.

‘The ancient *populus* was divided into three tribes, the *Ramnes*, the *Tities*, and the *Luceres*. These again were divided, each into ten *curiæ*, and in the *comitia curiata* the votes within each of the thirty *curiæ* were taken separately; the votes of the majority determined the vote of the *curia*; and the votes of the greater number of the *curiæ* decided the matter before them. Each *curia* was sub-divided into *gentes*, and Niebuhr has shown, with very great probability, that in the original theory of the constitution ten *gentes* were assigned to each; so that each tribe contained a hundred, and three hundred was the whole number of patrician *gentes*. Such precise numerical divisions were usual in the aristocratical politics of antiquity. The senate was composed of the heads and representatives of the several *gentes*. Each *gens* comprehended a number of families. These families might in some cases be really connected by consanguinity or affinity; but even where their conjunction was originally arbitrary, a fiction of kindred was kept up among them, and this conventional bond of union was strengthened by the observance of common religious rites. The clients who depended upon the patrician families were included among the *gentiles*, or members of the *gens*, in the widest sense of the word; but they were not considered as constituting a part of the *Curia*, *Tribe*, or *Populus*.—E. R.

Regal Government.

FROM B.C. 753—509.

Legends of ROMULUS, (the Senate 200 in number, 100 representing the Gentes of the Ramnes, and 100 the Gentes of the Titius,) of NUMA POMPILIUS and of TULLUS HOSTILIUS. [The destruction of Alba Longa.]

'The early history of Rome is indeed far more poetical than anything else in Latin literature. The loves of the Vestal and the God of War, the cradle laid among the reeds of Tiber, the fig tree, the she-wolf, the shepherd's cabin, the recognition, the fratricide, the rape of the Sabines, the death of Tarpela, the fall of Hostus Hostilius, the struggle of Mettius Curtius through the marsh, the women rushing with torn raiment and dishevelled hair between their fathers and their husbands; the nightly meetings of Numa and the Nymph by the well in the sacred grove, the fight of the three Romans and the three Albans, the purchase of the Sibylline books, the crime of Tullia, the simulated madness of Brutus, the ambiguous reply of the Delphian oracle to the Tarquins, the wrongs of Lucretia, the heroic actions of Horatius Cocles, of Scævola, and of Clælia, the battle of Regillus, won by the aid of Castor and Pollux, the defence of Cremera, the touching story of Coriolanus, the still more touching story of Virginia, the wild legend about the draining of the Alban lake, the combat between Valerius Corvus and the gigantic Gaul, are among the many instances which will at once suggest themselves to every reader.'—*Mac*.

'The personal existence of Romulus we utterly reject; that of Numa is more than questionable; but it would probably be carrying our scepticism too far to deny the individuality of Tullus Hostilius. Yet there is little in the story of his reign which can be received as historical truth; and with reference to the conquest of Alba, it would seem most likely that Alba was destroyed, not by Rome, but by a revolt of the subject Latin towns, in which it is possible that Rome bore a part.'—*M*.

Ancus Marcius. Extension of the city and its territory.—War of Ancus with the Latins;—'The first event in Roman History to which we can ascribe a truly historical character.'
Gradual ACCUMULATION ROUND THE ORIGINAL 'POPULUS ROMANUS' of the PLEBS, a subject population, free-born, and possessing property, but without political influence.

'Such an order is insensibly formed in all exclusive aristocratical states; and no doubt had begun to exist at Rome. But it was altogether insignificant, till the accession of the conquered Latins gave it numbers, and wealth, and military strength, and even nobility of birth.'

for those who were nobles in their own states, were only commoners at Rome.'—*M.*

'Niebuhr assents to the universal tradition, that the population of Rome originally consisted only of patricians and their clients; but he proves, in contradiction to the vulgar opinion, that the clients were not the same as the plebeians, or commons. The plebs, or commonalty, was a body of free citizens which grew up gradually by the side of the patricians and their clients; not possessed of the privileges and dignities of the patrician order, yet not bound by the obligations of clientship; politically subject, but personally independent.' 'In the earliest age of Rome, the patrician order comprehended all free-born citizens who possessed property in land, and were personally independent. The rest of the population, except the household slaves, were clients of the patricians. The name of the superior class, by which they were distinguished from the inferior, was *patres*, or fathers. The patrician order constituted the state. The clients and the plebeians, at the first origin of their order, were subjects of the state, but not members of it. Hence the term *populus*, or the people, was originally applied to the patrician body only. Even for a long time after the formation of the commonalty into a distinct estate, the term *populus* was not applied to the whole nation composed of the two orders, but remained the appellation of one of them; and *populus* and *plebs* were opposed to each other. To describe the whole nation, it was necessary to combine the names, and this continued to be the language of religious formulæ even in the days of Cicero. As the *patres* constituted the *populus*, the people, or state, so, not only was the council of the nation, or senate, a select body of the *patres*, but the sole popular assembly of the early age was the assembly of the patrician order; and during nearly all of the first four centuries the supreme power of the state continued to reside in this assembly. Its meetings were called the *comitia curiata*, and its usual place of meeting was an open space within the city, called the *Comitium*. The fact that the *comitia curiata* were a council of the patricians only, is one of the highest importance to a right understanding of the Roman history; and it has been explicitly demonstrated for the first time by Niebuhr.'—*F. Q.*

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.—Great public works, commencement of the stone walls of Rome, the *Cloaca Maxima*, &c. 'Two thousand five hundred years have elapsed since this stupendous work was executed, to drain the waters of the Forum and adjacent hollows to the Tiber; and there it stands at this day, without a stone displaced, still performing its destined service! Do any of the edifices of Paris or London promise an equal duration?'—*C. R.*

Changes in the original constitution. Extension of the rights of citizenship.

Increase of the Senate to 300, considered by Niebuhr to mean that Tarquinius admitted the Luceres to the same rights as the other two tribes, having been up to *that time in a state of inferiority, by the election of 100 of*

their number into the Senate. 'These Senators admitted by Tarquinius, were called Fathers of the Lesser Houses or Kins, (*Patres Minorum Gentium*.) and the old Senators, Fathers of the Greater Houses or Kins, (*Patres Minorum Gentium*.)'—*M*.

'The causes which led to this enlargement of the old constitution may be readily conceived. Whether Tarquinius was a Latin or an Etruscan, all the stories agree in representing him as a foreigner, who gained the throne by his wealth and personal reputation. The mere growth of the Roman state would, in the natural course of things, have multiplied new families, which had risen to wealth, and were in their former country of noble blood, but which were excluded from the *curiæ*—that is, from the rights of citizenship at Rome. The time was come to open to them the doors of the commonwealth, and a foreign king, ambitious of adding to the strength of his kingdom, if it were but for the sake of his own greatness, was not likely to refuse or put off the opportunity. Beyond this, we are involved in endless disputes and difficulties; who the Luceres were, and whether Tarquinius had any particular reasons for raising them to a level with the old tribes, we can never determine. It is enough to say, that there had arisen at Rome so great a number of distinguished families, of whatever origin, or from whatever causes, that an extension of the rights of citizenship became natural and almost necessary.'—*A*.

Servius Tullius, 'The King of the Commons,' the most remarkable in the line of Roman kings: he places Rome at the head of the confederacy of the Latins, and gives the plebeians an independent political organization.

The Servian Constitution; supposed division of the whole people into thirty Tribes;* institution of the **COMITIA TRIBUTA** (the peculiar assembly of the plebeians) and the **COMITIA CENTURIATA**, 'to unite the people and the Commons into a national and sovereign assembly in their capacity as *soldiers*; the two estates being still distinct from and independent of each other, unable as yet to act together as jointly legislating for the whole nation; for the *curiæ* still regarded themselves as forming exclusively the Roman people, and would not allow the commons, as such, to claim any part in the highest acts of national sovereignty.' 'The Roman people originally consisted of three tribes, each of which derived its origin from a different national stock. They dwelt on the hills where Rome afterwards rose, and were the owners of the circumjacent lands to a moderate distance. These tribes were originally independent of each other, but they eventually coalesced and formed one state. Commerce and other occasions drew to Rome many persons from far and near, and these, under the name of clients, lived beneath the pro-

* Each tribe was under the inspection of a magistrate called *Tribunus*. These magistrates must not be confounded with those who were afterwards called *Tribuni Plebis*, though there is reason to suppose that the one office sprung out of the other.

tection of the Roman citizens, who, from this relation, acquired the name of Patres or Patricians, names perfectly synonymous at all times, though a difference has been erroneously supposed to have existed. Gradually, conquests over the neighbouring states brought a considerable portion of their inhabitants of all ranks to Rome, where, under the name of the Plebs, they formed a constantly increasing portion of the population; for, as the Plebs were akin to the surrounding Latins, they freely admitted them into their body, while the Patricians, being divided into a fixed number of houses, and forming a close corporation, gradually diminished in number. The latter were called the Populus, in contradistinction to the Plebs: the government was entirely in their hands; they alone had a right to enjoy the public lands; and there was no connubium, or right of intermarriage, between the two orders. Such were the Populus and the Plebs of Rome—two nations, as it were, within the walls of one town.—F. Q. and the CENSUS.

Usurpation of **Tarquinus Superbus**, his tyranny; abolition of the Servian Constitution; oppression of the Commons. Latium conquered or induced to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. Legends of the war with Gabii. The treachery of Sextus, &c. **Expulsion of the Tarquins.**

‘The evils of the tyranny of Tarquin survived him; it was not so easy to restore what he had destroyed as to expel him and his family; the commons no longer stood beside the patricians as an equal order—free, wealthy, well armed, and well organized; they were now poor, ill armed, and with no bonds of union; they therefore naturally sank beneath the power of the nobility, and the revolution which drove out the Tarquins established at Rome, not a free commonwealth, but an exclusive and tyrannical aristocracy.’—A.

END OF THE REGAL GOVERNMENT, HAVING
LASTED 244 YEARS, AND RESTORATION OF
THE CONSTITUTION OF SERVIUS TULLIUS.

‘The chronology of the early Roman history, as it is commonly narrated, and the computation by which, according to Livy and Dionysius, an average of thirty-four years and a little more, are assigned to the reign of each of seven elective kings, cannot be received as true. There were no sufficient monuments on which it could be founded; it is in itself improbable, and, indeed, impossible.’—M.

The Republic, B.C. 509—30.

‘The only direct consequence to the internal constitution of Rome, proceeding from the abolition of royalty, was, that the power, undetermined as it had been while in the *hands of the kings*, was transferred to two consuls, annually

elected,'—*H.* 'the first of whom were BRUTUS AND COLLATINUS.'

'The consuls had succeeded to the kings of Rome, and represented the dignity of the state. They superintended the ceremonies of religion, levied and commanded the legions, gave audience to foreign ambassadors, and presided in the assemblies both of the senate and people. The general control of the finances was intrusted to their care; and though they seldom had leisure to administer justice in person, they were considered as the supreme guardians of law, equity, and the public peace. Such was their ordinary jurisdiction, but whenever the senate empowered the first magistrate to consult the safety of the commonwealth, he was raised by that degree above the laws, and exercised, in the defence of liberty, a temporary despotism.'—*G.*

'The particulars of the expulsion of the last king of Rome and his family and house, can only be given in their poetical form. It by no means follows that none of them are historical, but we cannot distinguish what are. *But we may be certain*, whether Brutus belonged to the commons, as Niebuhr thinks, or not, that *the commons, immediately after the revolution, recovered some of the rights of which the last king deprived them*; and these rights were such as did not interfere with the political ascendancy of the patricians, but yet restored to the commons their character of an order—that is, a distinct body, with an internal organization of its own.'—*A.*

FIRST TREATY WITH CARTHAGE, B.C. 508. 'From this treaty we learn that Rome, at the time when it was concluded, ruled over the whole coast of Latium, from the mouth of the Tiber to Terracina.'—*S.*

'The treaty with Carthage, concluded in the first year of the Republic, which has been most fortunately preserved by Polybius, is alien from the whole character of the traditional history; irreconcilable with the story of the siege of Ardea, which involves the story of Lucretia, and in direct contradiction to the Consular Fasti; but it proves incontestibly, what the vulgar history would scarcely lead us to suspect, that Rome at the end of the monarchy was the head of a large and powerful state; that her dominion extended at least as far as Terracina; and that this empire was lost very soon after the change in her form of government.'—*E. R.*

War with Porsena. Legend of Horatius Cocles. 'Polybius, there is reason to believe, heard the tale of Cocles recited over the remains of some consul or prætor descended from the old Horatian patricians; for he evidently introduces it as a specimen of the narratives with which the Romans were in the habit of embellishing their funeral oratory.'—*Mac.* **Rome besieged and taken by the Etruscans, B.C. 507 (?) Loss of one-third of its territory.**

'The result of this war is, indeed, as strangely disguised in the poetical story as Charlemagne's invasion of Spain is in the romances. Rome was completely conquered; all the territory which the kings had won on the right bank of the Tiber was now lost. Rome itself was surren-

dered to the Etruscan conqueror; his sovereignty was fully acknowledged; the Romans gave up their arms, and recovered their city and territory on condition of renouncing the use of iron except for implements of agriculture. But this bondage did not last long; the Etruscan power was broken by a great defeat sustained before Aricia; for after the fall of Rome, the conquerors attacked Latium, and while besieging Aricia, the united force of the Latin cities, aided by the Greeks of Cumæ, succeeded in destroying their army, and in confining their power to their own side of the Tiber. Still, however, the Romans did not recover their territory on the right bank of that river, and the number of their tribes, as has been already noticed, was consequently lessened by one-third, being reduced from thirty to twenty.—A.

‘In short, the legend of the war of Porsena, with all its romantic incidents, disguises the fact of the absolute conquest of Rome and of its deliverance from servitude, with the loss of all foreign dominion, and at the cost of one-third of its own proper territory.’—E. R.

The Lex Valeria (of Valerius Publicola) *de Provocatione*, B.C. 508, allowing a citizen, (plebeian,) who had been condemned by a magistrate to be fined, scourged, or put to death, to appeal to the assembly of the people—i. e., the assembly of the plebeian tribes; the Patricians having already the provocatio to their curiæ. This right of provocatio only applied to Rome and a mile round the city; for the imperium of the consuls beyond this bound was unlimited.

War with the Latins; the First Dictator; Battle of the Lake Regillus, B.C. 498, *concluding the mythical period of Roman History*.

‘The Chronology of this period is confessed by Livy to be one mass of confusion: it was neither agreed when the pretended battle at the Lake Regillus was fought, nor when the first dictator was created.’—A.

Progress of Distress and Poverty among the Commons. A Succession of Struggles between them and the Patricians lasted from B.C. 500—300. The chief causes were the severity of the law of debtor and creditor pressing on the impoverished commons, the high rate of interest, and the political weakness of the commons, the government having degenerated into an exclusive aristocracy.

‘As the Plebs formed the infantry of the state, and was the chief instrument by which it acquired territory from conquered towns, the kings were in the habit of making assignments of a portion of the acquired lands to the Plebeians, in small lots and in full property: when the last king was expelled, the Patricians, to secure the support of the Plebeians, divided the crown lands among them in a similar manner. But when all fear of the banished tyrant was removed, and the Patricians had gotten the government completely into their own hands, they ceased to pay the tenth which they had paid in the time of the kings, as the rent of the public lands, of which they had the exclusive possea-

sion, and threw the whole burthen of the taxes upon the Plebeians, now greatly reduced both in numbers and property, in consequence of the loss of the ten regions beyond the Tiber, which had been conquered by the Etruscans. The consequence of this was the lamentable state of poverty on the part of the far larger portion of the Plebeians, who became overwhelmed in debt, the principal creditors being the Patricians, either in their own names, or in those of their clients. At the same time, the Plebeian nobility and gentry were justly indignant at their total exclusion from public office, to which they considered themselves entitled by birth and by property.—*F. Q.*

Wars with the Sabines, Volscians, and Æquians.

‘The really important part of the history of the first years of the Commonwealth, is the tracing the gradual depression of the commons to that extreme point of misery which led to the institution of the Tribuneship. Immediately after the expulsion of the king, the commons shared in the advantages of the revolution; but within a few years, we find them so oppressed and powerless, that their utmost hopes aspired not to the assertion of political equality with the burghers, but merely to the obtaining protection from personal injuries.’—*A.*

First Great Struggle, from the *oppression of the Debtors. Insurrection and secession of the Plebs* to the Mons Sacer, ‘trans Anienem amnem’—i. e., ‘beyond the Ager Romanus, the proper territory of the burghers.’ Temporary concessions to the insolvent debtors, and appointment of the **Tribunes of the Plebs**, B.C. 493. ‘Two officers to be chosen by the centuries on the field of Mars, whose business it should be to extend full protection to any commoner against a sentence of the consul—that is to say, who might rescue any debtor from the power of his creditor, if they conceived it to be capriciously or cruelly exerted. The number of the Tribunes was probably suggested by that of the consuls: there were to be two chief officers of the commons, as there were of the burghers.’—*A.*

‘The tribunate gave a legal and constitutional form to the contests of the orders, and as long as the *Populus* and *Plebs* were distinct from each other, it preserved Rome from the tyrannies, and from the bloody struggles of parties which prevailed in the Greek cities. It became noxious only when, by surviving the distinction of the orders, it lost its representative character.’—*F. Q.*

‘The character of the Tribunes was, in every respect, different from that of the consuls. The appearance of the former was modest and humble; but their persons were sacred and inviolable. Their force was suited rather for opposition than for action. They were instituted to defend the oppressed, to pardon offences, to arraign the enemies of the people, and, when they judged it necessary, to stop, by a single word, the whole machine of government. As long as the republic subsisted, the

* There are some most instructive remarks on the Tribunate, its origin and its functions, in the U. K. S. History of Rome under the Emperors, *ch. II., p. 40, seqq.*

dangerous influence, which either the consul or the tribune might derive from their respective jurisdiction, was diminished by several important restrictions. Their authority expired with the year in which they were elected; the former office was divided between ten, the latter among two persons; and as both in their private and public interest they were averse to each other, their mutual conflicts contributed for the most part to strengthen, rather than to destroy the balance of the constitution.'—*G.*

League with the 30 Cities that composed the Latin State, B.C. 493, and seven years afterwards with the Hernicans.

'Amidst the silence and the calumnies of his enemies, SPURIUS CASSIUS is known as the author of three works, to which Rome owed all her future greatness: he concluded the league with the Latins in his second consulship, in his third he concluded the league with the Hernicans, and procured, although with the price of his own life, the enactment of the first agrarian law. By these two treaties he had, so far as was possible, repaired the losses occasioned to the Roman power by the expulsion of Tarquinius, and had re-organized that confederacy, to which, under her last kings, Rome had been indebted for her greatness. The wound was healed at the very critical moment, before the storm of the great Volscian invasions burst upon Latium.'—*A.*

'To form a strong bulwark against the terrible Volscians, Spurius Cassius concluded a league with the whole confederate nation of the Latins, by which they became, not, as the vanity of the Roman writers would represent them, subjects of Rome, but allies on terms of perfect equality. All the rights were communicated to them, which the Greeks comprehended under the term of *Isopolity*—that is, all the rights of citizenship, except a vote in the popular assembly, and eligibility to magistracies.'—*E. R.*

War with the Equians and Volscians.

STORY OF CORIOLANUS; 'for which there is in all probability a foundation in truth, but the circumstances are so disguised, that it is impossible to guess from what reality they have been corrupted.'

FIRST AGRARIAN LAW proposed by Spurius Cassius, B.C. 486, the object of which is supposed by Niebuhr to have been that the portion of the populus or patricians in the public lands should be set apart, that the rest should be divided among the plebeians, and that the tithe, the regular payment of which had been greatly neglected, should again be levied, and applied to paying the army*—that is, 'that a portion of the domain should be distributed to the plebeians, and that the patricians should be compelled to pay the tithe for the lands of which they retained possession.' *It is violently opposed, and, though it was carried, many years elapsed before the patricians could be induced to allow it to be carried into effect.*

'The selfishness, crimes, and tyranny of the patricians succeeded, for the present, in preventing the Agrarian law from being carried into

* The sketch in the *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1833, of the Agrarian law of Spurius Cassius, is well worthy of the student's notice.

effect; but the tribunes, watchful of the interests of their order, had become aware of the importance of the law, and repeatedly demanded its execution. *In B.C. 481, the tribune Icilius made an unsuccessful attempt; and in B.C. 478, the tribune Genucius, who arraigned the consuls before the commons for delaying to carry the law into effect, was assassinated by the patricians, who thus tried to intimidate other tribunes, and deter them from further attempts; but all was of no avail, the greediness of the nobles was thwarted by the persevering energy of the plebeians.*—S.

ASCENDANCY OF THE ARISTOCRACY; in B.C. 485, the Patricians succeed in transferring the right of electing the consuls from the comitia of the Centuries to the purely patrician body of the Curie—the commons refuse to serve as soldiers, and are protected in their refusal by the Tribunes. ‘This was the weapon so often used from this time forwards in defence of the popular cause: the Roman commons, like those of England, sought to obtain a redress of grievances by refusing to aid the government in its wars: they refused to furnish men, as our fathers refused to furnish money.’—A. The centuries recover the power of appointing one out of the two consuls, B.C. 483.

WARS WITH THE ÆQUIANS AND VEIENTINES—THE SEVEN CONSULSHIPS OF THE FABII, who resolve to conciliate the commons, and support them in their demand for the execution of the Agrarian law. ‘Standing at the head of their order, they had been most zealous in its cause, and had incurred proportionably the hatred of the commons. But they had men amongst them of a noble spirit, who could not bear to be so hated by their countrymen, as that their own soldiers should rather allow themselves to be slaughtered by the enemy than conquer under command of a Fabius.’—A.

THE FABII MIGRATE TO CREMERA.* ‘The Fabii left Rome as the Claudii had left Regillus a few years before: they wished to establish themselves as a Latin colony in Etruria, serving the cause of Rome even while they had renounced her.’—A. **AND ARE CUT OFF BY THE VEIENTINES,** B.C. 479.

ASSASSINATION OF THE TRIBUNE GENUCIUS, who impeached the Consuls of the preceding year, for refusing to carry into effect the Agrarian law of Spurius Cassius, B.C. 473.

* ‘Una dies Fabios ad bellum miserat omnes;
Ad bellum missos perdidit una dies.’—Ovid. Fast.

THE PUBLILIAN LAW; '*The Second Great Charter of Roman Liberties,*' proposed by the tribune **PUBLILIUS VOLERO**—'*ut plebeii magistratus tributis comitiis fierent,*' i. e., *that the tribunes for the time to come should be chosen by the votes of the commons in their tribes, and not by those of the whole people in their centuries,* in which the patricians could determine the result of the elections by the votes of their clients.'—*S. D.* It is violently opposed by the patricians, but carried the next year, B.C. 471, 'with the addition of a new chapter, which gave the election of the plebeian aediles to the *Comitia Tributa*, and enabled the *Tributa* to deliberate and decide upon any matter which could be deliberated and decided upon in the *Comitia Centuriata*.'—*S. D.*

STORY OF CINCINNATUS IN THE ÆQUIAN WAR.

CAMPAIGN OF APPIUS CLAUDIUS AGAINST THE VOLSCIANS AND ÆQUIANS.

Continued Struggles between the Patricians and the Plebeians.

Lex Icilia, B.C. 471, to prevent all interruption to the Tribunes whilst addressing the Commons.

First Proposal of the **TERENTILIAN LAW**, B.C. 462, 'for the purpose of restraining the power of the consuls, and for a complete reform of the existing state of things:—that ten commissioners should be appointed, by the two orders jointly, to frame a code of laws for all classes of Roman citizens.'—'The object of which was to place the two estates as nearly as possible on a footing of equality.' Violent opposition, for ten years, of the Patricians; re-election for the fifth time of the same tribunes; increase in their number from five to ten, B.C. 457. At length, the Patricians consent that the laws should be revised, 'that three persons should be sent beyond the sea into Greece, to collect such notices of the laws and constitutions of the Greek states as might be serviceable to the Romans,' but they absolutely refuse to allow the commons any share in the revision of the constitution, and retain themselves all the ten places in the **Decemvirate**, which lasts from B.C. 451—447.

SUSPENSION OF ALL OTHER MAGISTRATES,
(*the Tribunate as well as the Consulate*), **LEGISLATION**

of the first **DECENVIRS; Laws of the Ten Tables compiled;** 'which had, we may suppose, mainly for their object the embodying of the customary law in writing;' **THE SECOND DECENVIRS, COMPILATION OF TWO ADDITIONAL TABLES; Tyranny of APPIUS CLAUDIUS AND THE SECOND DECENVIRS;** 'The Decemvirate seems to have exhibited the perfect model of an aristocratical royalty, vested not in one person but in several, held not for life, but for a single year, and therefore not confined to one single family of the aristocracy, but fairly shared by the whole order. Towards the commons, however, the Decenvirs were in all respects ten kings. Each was attended by his twelve lictors, who carried not the rods only but the axe, the well-known symbol of sovereignty. The colleges of ordinary magistrates were restrained by the general maxim of Roman law, '*mellior est conditio prohibentis*,' which gave to each member of the college a negative upon the act of his colleagues. But the Decenvirs bound themselves, by oath, each to respect his colleagues' majesty; what one decemvir did, none of the rest might undo. Then followed all the ordinary outrages of the ancient aristocracies and tyrannies; insult, oppression, plunder, and blood.'—**A. TALE OF VIRGINIA; SECOND SECESSION OF THE PLEBS TO MONS SACER; Resignation AND IMPEACHMENT of the Decenvirs; TRIBUNES AND CONSULS (L. Valerius and M. Horatius) RE-APPOINTED.**

'With regard to the constitution, there cannot be any doubt that *the laws of the Twelve Tables* contained an arrangement by which the whole body of Roman citizens, the patricians and their clients, as well as the plebeians, henceforth became members of the thirty local Plebeian tribes. *The Comitia Tributa*, therefore, *instead of a merely plebeian, became a national assembly for legislative purposes*, but the measures passed by it still required the sanction of the *curiæ*: it had also the election of all minor magistrates, as the *ædiles*, *quæstors*, and *tribunes*, and was at the same time the high court of appeal. The assembly of the centuries, on the other hand, retained the election of the high magistrates, the decision upon peace and war, and the privilege of acting as a court of justice in certain cases. The advantages, however, which the plebeians derived from this new arrangement were very insignificant, and in the new legislature many of the severe laws of former times were sanctioned—viz., that of debt, and that declaring marriages between a patrician and a plebeian illegal. The highest magistracy remained, as before, inaccessible to the plebeians; nor was there any law to entitle them to a share in the conquered lands, which became the property of the state.'—S.

VALERIAN AND HORATIAN LAWS, passed at the *Comitia Centuriata*, **INCREASING THE POWER OF THE PLEBEIANS, AND PUTTING THE AS.**

SEMBLY OF THE TRIBES ON A LEVEL WITH THAT OF THE CENTURIES; 'ut quod tributum plebs jussisset populum teneret'—i. e., that a Plebiscitum, or decree of the assembly of the commons, should have the same force as one passed by the centuries; so that, if such a measure received the sanction of the curiæ, it became law for the whole nation, just as one proposed by the consuls and passed by the centuries.—S.

IMPEACHMENT AND DEATH OF APPIUS CLAUDIUS.—Defeats of the Volscians, Æquians, and Sabines.

Continuance of Struggles between the Two Orders.

The *Lex Canuleia*, B.C. 445, proposed by the Tribune C. Canuleius, respecting that law of the Twelve Tables, which forbade *connubia* (intermarriages) between the two orders. It is proposed also by his colleagues, that 'the consulship should be thrown open to the members of both orders.' The bill respecting the connubium was passed, but that respecting the consulship was evaded by a change in the constitution—'the powers which had hitherto been united in the consulship were now divided between two new magistrates'—viz.

The Tribuni Militares Consulari potestate, B.C. 444, to be elected from either order, and **THE CENSORS**, 'chosen not only from the Patricians, but by them also; that is, by the assembly of the curiæ.'—N.

'The right of admission to the consulship was not extended to the plebeians till after a struggle annually renewed for eighty years; during which, when, as usually was the case, the tribunes forbade the military enrolment, recourse was had to a transfer of the consular power to the yearly elected commanders of the legions; a place to which plebeians were entitled to aspire.'—H.

'The original business of the censorship was to take a register of the citizens and their property: it became in the end almost a despotic power, possessing the 'regimen morum,' (or general control over the conduct and morals of the citizens,) the power of determining the rank of every citizen, fixing his status in society, and valuing his taxable property at discretion.'—S. D.

'But whatever schemes the patricians might resort to, in order to maintain their exclusive rights, the distinction between the two orders was gradually beginning to vanish: the personal or family relations

between the members of the two estates also tended to soften down the disputes which arose between them, and for a time peace prevailed at Rome.'—S.

Continued Wars against the Æquians, Volscians, and Etruscans.

'The account of the early wars of the Romans cannot be trusted implicitly in its merest outlines; we have the highest authority for saying that victories and even triumphs were sometimes purely imaginary; a year which is filled with pretended successes of the Romans may have witnessed nothing but their defeats. We are reduced therefore not only to an outline, but to one made up from scattered and almost accidental notices.'—A.

DICTATORSHIP OF CAMILLUS; Tale of the Siege of Veii, from 405 B.C.—395. (Pay first given to the soldiers from the Public Treasury.)

'The beautiful and romantic story of the fall of Veii belongs, it is plain, entirely to the traditions and funeral orations of the Furian family. The manner of the real capture of the place is irrecoverably lost, but it is certain, that after a war of nine years, this old antagonist of Rome, the large, wealthy, and powerful city of Veii, was taken by the Romans, and the political existence of its people destroyed for ever.'—A.

INCREASE OF THE ROMAN TERRITORY BY THE FALL OF VEII; TAKING OF CAPENA AND FALERII.

Grant of land in the Veientine territory made to the commons:—a charge of personal corruption is brought against Camillus, who quits the city before his trial comes on.

GRADUAL INCREASE OF THE POWER OF THE PLEBEIANS. 'The tribunes by stopping the collection of the tribute for the payment of the army at Veii, gained their point. Then at last, after an interval of more than forty years, the constitution of the year 444 B.C. was fully carried into effect: the elections of military tribunes were left really free, and four out of six of the members of the college were chosen from among the plebeians.'—A.

Invasion of the Gauls: they penetrate into Central Italy.

'There can be little doubt, that Rome had owed her victories over the Etruscan towns to the immigration of the Gauls or Celts, who at the time were pressing hard upon the Etruscans, and had already made themselves masters of the country to the north of the river Po.'—S.

Battle of the Allia, (*dies Alliensis*.) 'The name of the Allia was placed in the calendar beside that of the Cremera among the tragic reminiscences of the Roman people; and the day whereon these calamities had befallen the republic was declared by the pontifices to be 'nefastus,' upon which no business might lawfully be undertaken, no sacrifice acceptably offered.'—**D. and Burning of Rome, B. C. 390.**

ROMANTIC STORY OF THE DEFENCE OF THE CAPITOL BY M. MANLIUS. BLOCKADE AND RANSOM OF THE CAPITOL. 'THE GAULS RETURNED FROM THEIR INROAD LOADED WITH SPOIL & CROWNED WITH GLORY.'—**A.**

'It is impossible to say how much of the story of the sacking of Rome by the Gauls is true, and what may be the additions and embellishments added to it by poetical tradition, and by the family pride of the Camilli and Manlii. The true account of Rome's delivery is probably contained in the plain statement of Polybius, that the Gauls gave up Rome as an act of grace, because in their absence the Venetians had invaded the country of the Gauls; and that they returned home with their booty, without any harm or loss. Diodorus does not say a word of the appointment of Camillus to the dictatorship, much less of his having liberated Rome by arms.'—**S.**

'The Romans were, no doubt, defeated at the Allia; Rome was taken and burnt, and the Capitol ransomed; but beyond this we know, properly speaking, nothing. We know that falsehood has been busy, to an almost unprecedented extent, with the common story: exaggeration, carelessness, and honest ignorance, have joined, more excusably, in corrupting it.'—**A.**

DESTRUCTION OF THE MONUMENTS AND RECORDS.

'It is certain, from the circumstances of the case, and from Livy's express confession, that almost every national record, except those which happened to be in the Capitol, must have perished in the destruction of the city by the Gauls; and consequently, that their contents, if not utterly lost, were restored from memory. Niebuhr has proved from the testimony of Cicero, in the recovered fragments of the 'Dialogue on a Republic,' that the Pontifical Annals in particular, which were the chief records of the state, and which for the times after the capture of the city were contemporary memorials, were thus restored for the preceding period. At present we will not inquire how far this restitution, assisted by what remained from the wreck of the monuments, supplied trustworthy materials for the history of the infant republic; but it is clear that for the kingly period of Rome, and for some years beyond it, even the religious and legal books could contain nothing more than the traditions of those who had the charge of them. This traditionary learning of the augurs, and priests, and pontiffs, was, of course, very different in character from the traditionary stories of the

people; but it might probably be sometimes quite as far from historical truth.'—*E. R.*

Effect of the Gaulish Invasion on Rome.

'Of the immediate effects of the Gallic inroad, the principal, in reference to Rome, was the change it apparently produced in the political relations of the Latin and Opican races. Niebuhr's conjecture, that 'the breaking up of the Æquian state was the consequence of its having sustained a heavy blow from the Gauls,' is probably the true solution of their sudden disappearance from history; and after the Gallic invasion many of the Latin towns resumed their independence, or entered into new alliances, and the Cassian league was now completely dissolved.'—*D.*

'It was the torrent of the Gaulish invasion poured upon Latium which crushed the Æquians for ever, and which obliged the Romans by its consequences to confine their attention again for a long period to the left bank of the Tiber. There, in many years of patient and arduous struggles, they laid deeper and firmer the foundations of their after greatness, by effectually subduing the remnant of their Opican enemies, and obtaining a more complete command than ever over the resources of the cities of the Latins. Thus, the Gaulish invasion and conquest of Rome was but the instrument of her greater and surer advance to the dominion of Italy.'—*A.*

Deplorable state of the City after the Retreat of the Gauls. Distress and misery of the Commons.

'Upon the retreat of the Gauls, the Romans who re-assembled in the city found their numbers greatly reduced, and the survivors encompassed by revolted subjects, or jealous and vindictive neighbours. From their dwellings on the Capitoline, the Manlii and Quinctii, in the place of the rich tillage and the numerous herds which before the capture of the city marked an interval of almost undisturbed prosperity, beheld on every side, from the Tiber to the Alban hills, a wide and uniform prospect of desolation. From Rome alone, besides those who perished—the aged and helpless of either sex—an immense number must have been carried off into the Gallic settlements beyond the Po. Of the rest, the more opulent only can have retained the means of replacing their dwellings, their cattle, the stock of their farms, and the implements of husbandry. The usual consequences of an inroad of barbarians, famine and disease, were not wanting; and, like the colony which Ezra led back to the city of their forefathers, the Romans possessed of their recent conquests and domain little besides their name as a people, their fortress on the Capitoline, and their national recollections.'—*D.*

'To purchase the departure of these formidable enemies, it had been necessary to take out the gold which was consecrated to the gods in the Capitol, and one of the first acts of the government, after the departure of the Gauls, was to impose a double tribute on the people, in order to replace it. Besides paying this heavy tribute, the people had to rebuild their houses, to replace their farming implements, and to procure draught cattle and seed corn. Of money, there could be little or none remaining, for as the Roman copper money of those days was nearly as ponderous as the iron specie of the Spartans, and the people had

but six-and-thirty hours to leave the city after the defeat at the *Allia*, all must have become the prize of the conquerors. It was therefore necessary to borrow, and in order to attract money-lenders to Rome, the rate of interest was raised above the ten per cent. established by the Twelve Tables. These bankers, being of course foreigners, were obliged to select patrons among the rich patricians, to whom, as was the custom, they paid a per centage on their gains; and as it was consequently in the patron's name that all their transactions were carried on, the patricians have come in for more perhaps than their just share of odium in history, they being supposed to have been solely those merciless creditors of whose atrocities we read. Their chief guilt lay in their imposing the tribute to replace the sacred gold too soon, and their manœuvring to prevent a censorial regulation of property, in accordance with the actual state of each person's circumstances.'—*F. Q.*

RESTORATION OF THE CITY. FOUR NEW TRIBES ADDED OUT OF THE SUBJECT POPULATION TO THE ROMAN PEOPLE. ATTACKS OF THE NEIGHBOURING STATES ON THE CITY.

Wars with the Volscians, Etruscans, and Latin States—Lanuvium, Antium, and Praeneste.

'The existence of Rome, in after ages, was the recompence, and is, perhaps, the only historical monument of this obscure and doubtful struggle.'—*D.*

Story of M. Manlius, ('*Parens Plebis* ;') his Trial, &c.

'From a story preserved so imperfectly, it would be rash to determine the character of Manlius or of his designs. That he ultimately perished as a traitor is beyond question; but of the tribunal which condemned, or of the sentence executed on Manlius, nothing certain is known.'—*D.*

Continued struggles between the Two Orders: increased distress of the Commons: their general state of poverty and debt.

'From this apparently hopeless condition, there sprung up suddenly a prospect of deliverance. Again we have conflicting traditions, idle stories, and party exaggerations in the place of history. But the result of the great struggle is certain, whatever obscurity hangs over the details. And L. Sextius and C. Licinius, though we cannot gain a distinct knowledge of them as individuals, yet deserve to be recorded amongst the greatest benefactors to the cause of good government and equal law, inasmuch as they brought forward and carried the Licinian laws.'—*A.*

'The course and the promise of improvement were cut off by the effects of the Gallic invasion; the remedies applied hitherto to the evils that in the latter half of the 4th century so nearly extinguished the Roman nation and name, were such, perhaps, as the people were generally fitted to receive, or such as were demanded by particular grievances;

but to the crisis at which we are now arrived, a total cure was alone commensurate, and the legislation of Licinius was a reconstruction of the state, that embodied and re-animated the various elements of the Cassian, Publilian, and Valerian laws.—D.

Legislation of Licinius.

‘C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius, the two reformers that laid the foundation of Rome’s regeneration and real greatness; their object to abolish the consular tribuneship, and throw the consulship open to the plebeians; to increase their political power and improve their condition.’—S.

The Three Licinian Rogations (‘which we may very justly denominate the Roman Reform Bill,’) **brought forward, B.C. 376.**

‘1. That from the capital of all debts, whatever had been already paid as interest should be deducted, and the remainder thus reduced be discharged within three years in three equal portions. This was an attempt to stay the progress of depopulation, and to rescue a portion of the citizens from insolvency and its penalties, without seriously invading the rights of credit and property.’

‘2. That no one should be allowed to possess more than 500 jugera (equal to 280 English acres) of arable and plantation land in the Ager Publicus, nor the right of pasturage to more than 100 oxen and 500 smaller cattle. The second Licinian Rogation regulated the division, the possession, and the tithe or quit-rent of the demesne land, and it probably embodied whatever measures, under the form of Agrarian bills, had been proposed since the death of Spurius Cassius.’

‘3. That the military tribunate with consular power should be abolished, and the consulship restored with this limitation, that one of the consuls be *necessarily* a member of the commons. The third Licinian Rogation secured the *dignity* of the second estate by declaring it, more expressly than by any former act, an integral portion of the Roman people, and its *political privileges*, by providing it with a representative of higher rank and more diversified functions than were compatible with the original tribuneship. The principle of partition had been conceded in the decemvirate, and in the consular tribunate; but the influence of the burghers in the centuries had rendered the concession nearly void; and if the commons were really to have a share in the government it was necessary to insure to them at least one place in the executive. This Rogation was the great achievement of the legislators, and the only one of their laws finally and fully carried into effect.’—D.

Violent opposition on the part of the Patricians, ‘who gain over the eight other tribunes, and prevent the bills being put to the vote in the Comitia Tributa. Licinius and Sextius in return use their right of intercession, and prevent the election of the Consular Tribunes. **The struggle is carried on from B.C. 376–371,** during part of which time ROME WAS IN A STATE OF PERFECT ANARCHY, while LICINIUS AND SEXTIUS ARE ELECTED TO THE TRIBUNESHIP YEAR AFTER YEAR.’—S.

CONSULAR TRIBUNES ARE AGAIN ELECTED, (with the permission of Licinius and Sextius,) owing to the attacks of the Latins on Tusculum, B.C. 371.

(Alleged) Dictatorship of Camillus; (pretended) inroad of the Gauls.

The cause of the Commons gains ground.

Licinius and Sextius introduce an additional fourth bill, that the Sibylline books should be entrusted to ten keepers, and that half of them should be plebeians.

Licinius and Sextius are elected Tribunes for the tenth time, and the Bills passed after a violent struggle: Sextius himself elected the

First Plebeian Consul, B.C. 366.

The curiæ at first refuse to confirm his election; 'matters come to threats of a secession,' 'terribilesque alias minas civilium certaminum;' the dismemberment of the Republic prevented by the interposition of Camillus.

'It was finally concluded that one place in the Consulate should be secured to the Commons; but that the ordinary jurisdiction of the Consular Tribunate should be exercised by a third magistrate, a patrician, who, with the ancient appellation of Prætor, should be chosen under the same auspices as the Consuls, and under the presidency of one of them.'—D.

'The Licinian laws were for the commons of Rome a substantial, although not a complete victory; for the patricians, an eventual, but not an immediate defeat. The former had recovered their position as an integral estate of the commonwealth; the latter retained important privileges both in the management of the public land and in the administration of law and police. At first, indeed, notwithstanding the loss of one place in the consulship, the patricians were apparently the successful party, since, by retaining the censorship, and reserving to their order the city prætorate, and the new magistracy the curule ædileship, they held three curule offices, while their opponents acquired but one. But, as it had formerly proved with the tribuneship, the commons, in the late compromise, had gained a solid advantage, which they were capable of employing, of extending, and of elevating in due time to a higher stage of political operation; while, in a few years, the progress and the pressure of circumstances undermined and destroyed the temporary prerogative of the patricians.'—D.

'If we look forward in history, it will be found that no cause for repentance occurred either at the time of the Licinian reform, or grew

out of the altered circumstances of remoter ages. The most illustrious warriors and statesmen of Rome were indifferently of patrician and plebeian extraction: the statues of the Æmili and Corneli, of the Fabii and Valerii, stood peacefully beside those of the great leaders of the commons. The surviving houses of the Ramnenses, the Titienses, and the Luceres, derived new vigour from their alliance or incorporation with the plebeian nobility of the Italian cities: and in the last age of the republic, when power and luxury, and the disproportion of the empire to its municipal base, had disorganized the nation, and levelled all generic distinction between the orders, a plebeian consul delivered Rome from the terrible conspiracy that was subsequently marked by the appellation of the 'patrician crime.'—*D.*

PESTILENCE AT ROME, B.C. 365. DEATH OF MARCUS CAMILLUS.

'While we know little more of his political character than his staunch and unscrupulous support of the oligarchy, his abilities as a general are unquestioned. To him was ascribed that change in the armour of the troops which enabled the Romans of the next century to resist successfully the onset of the Gauls; and if with him also originated those modifications of the phalanx, which extended its front, diminished its depth, and transformed its inanimate mass into the living body of the legion, he may justly rank among the principal founders of the dominion of Rome.'—*D.*

STORY OF CURTIUS, about B.C. 363.

'It were vain to inquire at what period, and upon what foundation, this remarkable story was first originated.'—*A.*

Renewal of the Alliance between Rome, the Latins, and the Hernicans.

WARS WITH THE FALISCANS AND TARQUINII. The Etruscans are defeated by C. M. Rutilus, the First Plebeian Dictator, B.C. 356. GAULISH INVASIONS REPELLED. STORIES OF T. MANL. TORQUATUS AND M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Commencement of **THE WARS AGAINST THE SAMNITES**—(the Campanians having called the Romans to their assistance against that nation, B.C. 343.) **THESE WARS**, between Samnium on the one hand, and the connected Romans, Latins, and Campanians on the other, [Livy himself admits that the Romans had no right to form an alliance with the Campanians,] carried on with vigorous exertion and various success, **LASTED, WITH BUT SHORT INTERMISSIONS, TILL B.C. 290.**

'We have now come to the time when, as *Livy* says, *majora hinc bella narranda sunt*, large masses meet each other in the field, and Rome has to fight with a great people which showed an heroic perseverance, possessed great generals and excellent armour, (which the Romans themselves adopted from them,) and had all the political virtues calculated to render a nation illustrious in the history of the world. The struggle for life and death lasted more than fifty years, and was interrupted only by treaties of peace, or rather by truces.'—*N*.

'In former contests the object of Rome had been to establish her supremacy over her immediate neighbours, but in the Samnite wars, (the true heroic age of Rome, ennobled by the patriotic valour of Decius Mus, father and son, Papirius Cursor, Q. Fabius Maximus,) during a protracted contest of fifty years, she opened a way to the subjugation of Italy, and laid the foundation of her future greatness.'—*H*.

'The subjugation of the Samnites was the first step towards the conquest of the Roman world. For although the Volscians and Æquians were a people of foreign extraction and language, yet the wars with them were mostly defensive, and did not immediately extend the frontier of the republic. But on the fall of Samnium, Rome was left without an equal among the nations of Italy, and acquired a territory that, even when her empire stretched from the Euphrates to the Western Ocean, was reckoned among the most valuable of her possessions.'—*D*.

BLOODY BATTLES OF MOUNT GAURUS AND SUESSULA, AGAINST THE SAMNITES.

'History can only record that one or two important battles were fought; that, although driven from Campania, the Samnites were undismayed, and concluded without shame an armistice which jealousy of her allies recommended to Rome. Whatever their losses may have been, the Samnites were neither discouraged nor materially enfeebled.'—*D*.

MUTINY OF THE ROMAN GARRISON OF CAPUA, said to have been appeased by M. Valerius Corvus, by a general cancelling of debts, and by the law of L. Genucius, *that no one should be re-elected to the same magistracy within ten years, nor hold two magistracies in the same year.*

'There can be no doubt that the insurrection arose at Rome itself, that the poor emigrated, took up arms, and were joined by the soldiers stationed in Campania. When it became evident that force could do nothing, a reconciliation was proposed on the terms contained in the above-mentioned laws. The alleged design upon Capua seems to be nothing but a false and malicious charge of the patricians.'—*S*.

'The great event which marks the transition of Rome from the age of boyhood to that of youth, was the taking of Capua under its protection.'—*N*.

PEACE AND ALLIANCE CONCLUDED WITH SAMNIUM, B.C. 340.

'The peace was concluded by the Romans alone, and that with a bad intention.'—N.

'The whole brunt of the Samnite war had devolved on the Latins, and they sustained it so ably that their consideration amongst their allies was greatly increased, and Latium, rather than Rome, began to be regarded as the most powerful member of the league. The remains of the Volscians, the Antiatans, and the Auruncans, began to gather themselves under the supremacy of Latium. Accordingly, the Romans felt it was no time for them to continue their quarrel with Samnium, and in the very next year they concluded with the Samnites a separate peace. Thus the relations of all these nations were entirely changed: Rome had connected herself with Samnium; while, on the other side, stood a new confederacy, consisting of the Latins and all the people of Opican extraction who lay between them and the Samnite frontier, whether known by the name of Volscians, Auruncans, Sidicinians, or Campanians.'—A.

The Great Latin War.

BATTLE OF VESERIS (near Mount Vesuvius) fought by T. Manlius and P. Decius Mus, who devotes himself, B.C. 340. FINAL BATTLE OF TRIFANUM, on the Liris. SUBMISSION OF THE LATINS, DISSOLUTION OF THEIR CONFEDERACY, ALLOTMENT OF A GREAT PART OF THEIR DOMAIN. FOUNDATION OF LATIN COLONIES BY ROME.

'The Latin nation was divided; some were raised to the rank of Roman citizens, receiving the Roman franchise with the suffrage, and thus became alienated from their former friends; others received the franchise without the suffrage; others were *agro multati*. The Latin diets were forbidden, and the *connubium* and *commercium* among the Latin towns were abolished.'—S. 'Thus the jealousy of adjacent districts was fostered by unequal privileges; their interests were placed in opposition; the powerful were humbled, the weak and the declining restored, and Latium was held in dependance by the same arts that nearly two centuries later were employed upon the kingdom which Philip consolidated and Perseus lost.'—D. 'Henceforth the Romans applied this system wherever they wanted to break a conquered people, as they afterwards did in Achaia. The towns thereby became entirely separate; the feeling of unity died away, they looked upon each other as strangers, and such a separation is usually followed by hostile feelings. The Romans were obliged to have recourse to this Machiavelian system, as they placed no garrisons in the towns.'—N.

The Subjugation of Latium completed, B.C. 338.

'Three years were sufficient to finish for ever the most important war in which Rome was at any time engaged.'—*A.*

'The revolution which arose out of the conquest of the Latins was immense in regard to its consequences: even two years before, the destruction of Rome by the Latins was not an impossibility, but now her power was strengthened by those resources of Latium which had not perished in the struggle: but for the reasons already mentioned, the period which now followed, was for most of the Latin towns a period of decay.'—*N.*

'Between Rome and Latium, nature had given all the elements of union, and thus the Latin war found immediately its natural termination in a closer union, which it was hopeless and not desirable to disturb. Those states that received the full Roman franchise became Romans, yet did not cease to be Latins: the language and the manners of their new country were their own. They were satisfied with their lot, and the hope of arriving in time at the same privileges, was a prospect more tempting, even to the other states, than anything which they were likely to gain by renewed hostilities. Thus the fidelity of the Latins was so secured, that neither the victories of Hannibal, nor the universal revolt of all Italy in the social war, tempted it to waver.'—*A.*

THE LEGES PUBLIÆ proposed by the Dictat. Pub. Philo., B.C. 339.

1. '*Ut plebiscita omnes Quirites tenerent*,' (to give the Plebiscita the force of leges)—i. e., that a Plebiscitum should have the effect of a Lex passed at the comitia centuriata. 2. To abolish the veto of the curiæ on the measures of the comitia centuriata. 3. That one of the censors must be a plebeian.

'It seems that no greater benefit could have been conferred on Rome than the extinction of the power of the curiæ; and accordingly, one of Publius' laws deprived them of their power as a branch of the legislature, with regard to all laws passed by the comitia of tribes, and another reduced it to a mere formality, with respect to all laws submitted to the comitia of the centuries.'—*A.*

Second Samnite War, B.C. 327.

DICTATORSHIP AND SUCSESSES OF L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR: SURRENDER OF THE ROMAN ARMY AT THE CAUDINE FORTS TO THE SAMNITES, UNDER C. PONTIUS, OF TELESIA, B.C. 321.

'With humanity, rare in the annals of war, Pontius provided carriages for the wounded, and sustenance for the whole army, until it should cross the Liris.'—*D.* **THE ROMANS BASELY AND SHAMELESSLY EVADE THE FULFILMENT OF THE TERMS OF THE SURRENDER, AND RENEW THE WAR.**

'With their wonted hypocrisy and bad faith towards other nations, they mingled scrupulousness for the forms with disregard of the spirit of their compact, and, retaining all its advantages, they denied the validity of every unfavourable clause.'—*D.*

CENSORSHIP OF APPIUS CLAUDIUS, B.C. 312.
He constructs the Via Appia and the Aqua Appia, and, to gain popularity, admits many freedmen into the tribes.

'The great road from Rome to Capua, (a distance of about 120 English miles,) which was afterwards continued to Brundisium, has indeed immortalized the name of its author; nor will the mightiest works of modern engineers ever rival the fame of the Applan way.'—*A.*

REVOLT AND SUBJECTION OF THE HERNICANS.

'During the first half of the Samnite war, but in what year is uncertain, there was passed that famous law, (*Lex Poetilia*), which prohibited personal slavery for debt: no creditor might for the future attack the person of his debtor, but might only seize his property; and all those whose personal freedom was pledged for their debts (*nexi*) were released from their liability, if they could swear that they had property enough to meet their creditor's demands.'—*A.*

Subjugation of the Æquians.

'*The Lex Ogulnia*—raising the number of the pontifices majores from four to eight, and that of the augurs from four to nine; the additional priests being taken from the plebeians:—the ninth pontiff was the Pontifex Maximus, who was undoubtedly chosen indifferently from both orders.'—*N.*

Re-enactment of the *LEX VALERIA DE PROVOCATIONE*.

GREAT VICTORY OF THE ROMANS AT CINNA
(*'a place wholly unknown'*). **BOVIANUM TAKEN.**
SUBMISSION OF THE SAMNITES AND THEIR ALLIES, B.C. 304, AND END OF THE SECOND SAMNITE WAR.

THE THIRD SAMNITE WAR, B.C. 298.

'The war lasted eight years, and was even more destructive to the Samnites than the earlier ones; but they conducted it with great vigour, and their whole plan, though not crowned with success, is one of the grandest recorded in history: but '*victrix causa Deis placuit*.'—*N.*

THE WAR TRANSFERRED BY THE SAMNITES TO ETRURIA.

'The march of the Samnites is one of the most brilliant feats in ancient history, and resembles, though it does not form a parallel to the heroic conduct of the Vendéans in 1793.'—*N.*

GREAT OVERTHROW OF THE ALLIED SAMNITES, ETRUSCANS, UMBRIANS, AND GAULS, AT SENTINUM ('The Austerlitz of the third Samnite war'). SELF-DEVOTION OF DECIUS MUS: HEROIC RESISTANCE OF THE SAMNITES: THEY DEFEAT THE ROMANS UNDER C. PONTIUS OF TELESIA; BUT ARE DECISIVELY OVERTHROWN BY Q. FABIUS MAX., AND C. PONTIUS IS TAKEN PRISONER.

'One year had passed since his last battle; nearly thirty since he had spared the lives and liberty of two Roman armies, and, unprovoked by the treachery of his enemies, had afterwards set at liberty the generals who were given up into his power as a pretended expiation of their country's perfidy. Such a murder, committed or sanctioned by such a man as Q. Fabius, is peculiarly a national crime, and proves but too clearly that in their dealings with foreigners, the Romans had neither magnanimity, nor humanity, nor justice.'—*A.*

The Samnites continue their heroic resistance for another year.

'The Romans moved from place to place, and wherever they pitched their camp, they destroyed all around every trace of cultivation, annihilating with the utmost fury every living thing that came in their way, just as Ibrahim Pacha did in the unhappy Morea. On the part of the Samnites, the war became a mere guerilla war.'—*N.*

THE SAMNITES AT LAST LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND SUBMIT TO ROME.

'Both consuls entered Samnium, but it was rather to entitle themselves to the honour of a triumph, than to overbear any real opposition. Every resource of the Samnites was exhausted.'—*A.*

Conclusion of the Samnite Wars, B.C. 290.

Appointment of *Triumviri Capitaes*. 'They had the superintendence of the public prisons, resembling in this the magistracy of the Eleven at Athens, and had the power of inflicting summary punishment on slaves and persons of lower rank.'—*S. D.*

Conquest of the Sabines, (after a peace of 150 years,) on pretext of their having aided the Samnites, by M. Curius *Dentatus*.

DISTURBANCES IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE STATE OF THE DEBTORS; THE LAST SECESSION OF THE PLEBS [to the Janiculum]; Q. HORTENSIUS APPOINTED DICTATOR.

THE LEX HORTENSIA, B.C. 286, more fully confirming the privileges of the Plebeians; to 'the effect that Plebiscita should bind all the Populus,'—*S. D.*, *depriving the senate of its veto, and declaring the people assembled in their tribes to be a supreme legislative power.*

'AFTER THE PASSING OF THE HORTENSIAN LAW, THE POLITICAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS CEASED, and, with a few unimportant exceptions, both orders were placed on a footing of perfect equality. Henceforth the name Populus is sometimes applied to the plebeians alone, and sometimes to the whole body of Roman citizens, as assembled in the comitia centuriata, or tributa.'—*S. D.*

'This decree is an extraordinary event; and it cannot but be admitted that the Hortensian law was the first step towards the dissolution of the Roman state.'—*N.* 'The only check which now remained on the absolute legislative power of the tribes, consisted in the veto of their own tribunes; and to secure the negative of a tribune became, accordingly, the ordinary resource of the aristocracy in the contests of the seventh century.'—*A.*

The *LEX MÆNIA*, ('extending to the senate what had before been enacted by the Publilian Law with respect to the curiæ,') required that the Patres should give their consent to the election of a magistrate.—*S. D.*

'Thus the share of the great patrician assembly in the elections being reduced to an empty form, they soon ceased to be assembled at all, and in the later times of the commonwealth they were represented merely by thirty lictors, who were accustomed, for form's sake, to confirm the suffrages of the centuries, and to confer the imperium on the magistrates whom the centuries had elected. But although supreme legislative power was now bestowed on the assembly of the tribes, and although the elections were freed from all legal control on the part of the aristocracy, yet these laws did not make the constitution of Rome a democracy. The Hortensian law enabled the Roman people to carry any point on which they considered their welfare to depend; it removed all impediments, which, after all, do but irritate rather than hinder, out of the way of the strongly declared expression of the public will. But

the public will was, in the ordinary state of things, quiescent, and allowed itself to be represented by the senate and the magistrates. It resigned to these even the power of taxation, and except in some rare or comparatively trifling cases, the whole judicial power also: those judges who were appointed by the prætor to try questions of fact, in all the most important civil and criminal cases, were taken exclusively from the order of senators. All the ordinary administration was conducted by the senate, and its decrees on all particular points had undoubtedly the force of laws.'—*A*.

WAR AGAINST THE SENONIAN GAULS, who aid the Etruscans, and cut off L. Cæcilius Metellus, the prætor, and 11,000 men.

'It is probably no exaggeration to say that the whole nation, men, women, and children, was extirpated.'—*N*.

DEFEAT OF THE BOIANS. OUTBREAK OF THE WAR WITH THE TARENTINES, who call in the aid of **Pyrrhus of Epirus**.

'Every Greek looked to foreign conquest only as a means of establishing his supremacy over Greece itself—the proudest object of his ambition. Victorious over the Romans, thence easily passing over into Sicily, and from thence again assailing more effectually than Agathocles the insecure dominion of the Carthaginians in Africa, Pyrrhus hoped to return home with an irresistible force of subject allies, to expel Antigonus from Thessaly and Bœotia, and the ruffian Ptolemy Ceraunus from Macedonia, to reign over Greece and the world as became the kinsman of Alexander and the descendant of Achilles.'—*A*.

BATTLES OF PANDOSIA, (DEFEAT OF LÆVINUS,) B.C. 280; and of ASCULUM, B.C. 279.

Pyrrhus crosses over into Sicily.—Return of Pyrrhus into Italy, and total defeat at Beneventum, by M. Curius Dentatus, B.C. 275.

Taking of Rhegium; punishment of the Campanian legion.

Siege and surrender of Tarentum; and, in the same year, Samnium, Lucania, and Bruttium made their final and absolute submission.

Conquest of the Picentians, Messapians, Volsinians, and Umbrians.

THE ROMANS MASTERS OF ALL ITALY, B.C. 266.

'Thus the whole extent of Italy, from the Macra and the Rubicon, to Rhegium and Brundisium, was become more or less subject to Rome.

But it was not merely that the several Italian nations were to follow in war where Rome might choose to lead them, nor yet that they paid a certain tribute to the sovereign state, such as Athens received from her subject allies. The Roman dominion in Italy had wrested large tracts of lands from the conquered nations in every part of the peninsula: forests, mines, and harbours had become the property of the Roman people, from which a large revenue was derived; so that all classes of Roman citizens were enriched by their victories: the rich acquired a great extent of land to hold in occupation, the poor obtained grants of land in freehold by an agrarian law, while the great increase of revenue required a greater number of persons to collect it; and thus, from the quaestors to the lowest collectors or clerks employed under them, all the officers of government became suddenly multiplied.—*A.*

‘Rome thus became the most powerful and compact state that then existed. The nations retained their own administrations, laws, languages, and dialects, but Rome was their central point, and they were gradually to rub off what was foreign to, and irreconcilable with, that centre.’—*N.*

Change in the Method of filling up Vacancies in the Senate, and Transition point in the Roman Constitution from an Aristocracy of Blood to one of Wealth.

‘A short time before the beginning of the first Punic war, a change was made which affected the character of the senate. Originally there had been two quaestors, but their number was doubled, and from B.C. 268, it was increased to eight. He who had been quaestor had the right *sententiam dicendi in senatu*, and the censors were obliged to make him a senator as soon as a vacancy occurred. Thus the election of new members of the senate was no longer left to the discretion of the censors, and as the quaestors were elected by the people, the senate may be said at this time to have consisted of wealthy people nominated by the people; for none but wealthy people could hope to obtain any of the higher magistracies—wealth having now acquired the influence which formerly belonged to birth only.’—*N. and S.*

The Mamertines of Messana, (‘Oscan mercenaries, a horde of adventurers and plunderers who were the common enemies of mankind,’) apply for aid from Rome against the Carthaginians and king Hiero.

‘The Roman people had a fresh remembrance of the assignments of land, the rich spoil, and the lucrative employments which followed from their late conquests in Italy. The power of obtaining like advantages in all future wars seemed secured to the people by the Hortensian laws, which enabled them to pass an agrarian law whenever they pleased, in spite of the opposition of the senate. The fertility of Sicily was proverbial, and the well-known riches of Carthage made a war with her as tempting a prospect to the Romans as a war with Spain has been ere now to Englishmen. No wonder, then, that war was at this time popular, and that the tribes more than once resolved on taking up arms, when the senate would have preferred peace from considerations

of prudence, and, we may hope, of national faith and justice. But 'our pleasant vices' are ever made 'instruments to scourge us;' and the first Punic war into which the Roman people forced the senate to enter, not only in its own long course bore most heavily upon the poorer citizens, but from the feelings of enmity which it excited in the breast of Hamilcar, led most surely to that fearful visitation of Hannibal's sixteen years' invasion of Italy, which destroyed for ever, not indeed the pride of the Roman dominion, but the well-being of the Roman people.'—*A*.

Alliance decreed with the Mamertines, and assistance promised.

'This decree, which was passed in B.C. 264, is a greater disgrace to Rome than even the murder of C. Pontius.'—*S*.

FIRST PUNIC WAR, B.C. 264—B.C. 241.

'Though the contest was long and wearisome, yet both parties fought, as it were, at arms' length, and, if we except the short expedition of Regulus, neither struck a blow at any vital part of his enemy.'—*A*.

The Consul Claudius passes over into Sicily, and Defeats the Carthaginians and Syracusans: Hiero makes peace with the Romans. 'The first treaty of Rome with a Greek State beyond the boundaries of Italy.'

'It is not without reason, that the recollection of the Punic war has remained so popular and vivid in the memory of men. That struggle was not merely to decide the fate of two cities, or of two empires; the matter in hand was to determine to which of the two races, Indo-Germanic or Shemitic, should belong the dominion of the world. It must be remembered, that the first of these two families of nations comprehends, besides the Indians and the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Germans; in the other are included the Jews and the Arabs, the Phenicians, and the Carthaginians. On the one side, the heroic genius, that of art and of legislation; on the other, the spirit of industry, navigation, and commerce. These two hostile races have everywhere encountered and everywhere attacked each other.'—*Mich*.

Siege and Storm of Agrigentum: THE ROMANS RESOLVE TO BUILD A FLEET.

'The taking of Agrigentum suggested to the Romans ideas entirely new respecting the objects of the war. At its commencement they had merely wished to have Messana and Syracuse as their dependant allies, but they now cherished the thought which Dionysius, Agathocles, and Pyrrhus had endeavoured to realise—namely, to expel the Carthaginians from the island altogether. But they saw, at the same time, that it was impossible to accomplish this without a fleet.'—*N*.

NAVAL VICTORY OF DUILIUS AT MYLÆ, B.C. 260; OF REGULUS AT ECNOMUS, B.C. 256; HE INVADES AFRICA, DEFEATS THE CARTHAGINIANS, AND OVERRUNS THE COUNTRY,

BUT IS ROUTED AND TAKEN PRISONER BY XANTHIPPIUS, B.C. 255.

Great Disasters of the Romans from Storms at Sea.
Victory of Panormus won by Metellus over Hasdrubal.
Regulus sent with a Carthaginian Embassy to solicit Peace.

'The common account of the death of Regulus may be effaced from the pages of history without any scruple. Beaufort has shown that this tragedy is a complete fiction, and that it was probably invented because the Romans allowed that the terms of peace proposed by Regulus were abominable, and that he had to make amends for his shameful conduct.'—*N*.

DEFEAT OF P. CLAUDIUS BY ADHERBAL AT DREPANUM, B.C. 249. THE GREAT HAMILCAR BARCA APPOINTED GENERAL OF THE CARTHAGINIANS: Recovery of Eryx by Hamilcar.

'It might be almost said that he was a greater man than his son Hannibal. There is no parallel case in history of a father and a son being so eminently great in their art as Hamilcar and Hannibal.'—*N*.

His System of Warfare.

'It was Hamilcar's object, which he pursued steadily to the end of his life, to form an infantry which should be a match for the Roman legions; and this could only be done by avoiding, for the present, all pitched battles, and at the same time carrying on an incessant warfare of posts, in which his soldiers would be constantly trained, and learn to feel confidence in their general and in each other. During six years, therefore, Hamilcar made Sicily a training school for the Carthaginian soldiers, as he afterwards made Spain.'—*A*.

GREAT VICTORY OF LUTATIUS CATULUS OVER HANNO NEAR THE ÆGATES INSULÆ. Peace concluded; THE CARTHAGINIANS EVACUATE SICILY, B.C. 241, which is constituted a Roman Province.

'This was a new system, and Sicily was the first country to which it was applied.'—*N*.

Conclusion, after three years, of the War of the Mercenaries against Carthage, which brought Carthage to the verge of destruction; suppressed, after fearful horrors, by Hamilcar.

'During this war in Africa, the Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia had likewise revolted, and had massacred the Carthaginian colonists in the island. The native Sards rose against the mercenaries, expelled them from the island, and refused obedience to Carthage.'

When, after the conclusion of the war in Africa, the Carthaginians made preparations to reconquer Sardinia, the Romans protected the Sards, and took possession of the island, threatening the Carthaginians with a fresh war, if they would not give up their claims to Sardinia and Corsica.—*N.*

THE CARTHAGINIANS ARE OBLIGED TO SURRENDER SARDINIA AND CORSICA TO THE ROMANS.

‘This is one of the most detestable acts of injustice in the history of Rome.’—*N.*

Hamilcar passes over into Spain. HANNIBAL’S OATH.

‘Nothing in history is so well known as the vow of Hannibal, which I believe to be historical.’—*N.*

THE TEMPLE OF JANUS SHUT, (THE SECOND TIME,) B.C. 235.

‘It was apparently to assure the Carthaginians that the peace thus ratified was to be sincere and lasting, that the old ceremony of shutting the gates of Janus was now performed, for the first time, it was said, since the reign of King Numa; for the last time, also, until they were closed by Augustus after his conquest of Egypt.’—*A.*

WAR WITH THE ILLYRIANS AND THEIR QUEEN TEUTA, B.C. 228. Hamilcar in Spain.

‘Here he remained eight years, which time he employed with incomparable wisdom, in establishing the Carthaginian empire. When he died he left the command to Hasdrubal, his son-in-law.’—*N.*

WARS WITH THE GAULS FROM B.C. 225—B.C. 222.

The SPOLIA OPIMA won by Marcellus, in the battle of Clastidium.

‘For this exploit he was ranked with Romulus and Cornelius Cossus, who, like him, when commanding the Roman armies, had slain the enemy’s general with their own hand.’—*A.*

Hannibal succeeds Hasdrubal in the command in Spain, B.C. 221, and takes Saguntum, B.C. 219.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR, FROM B.C. 218—B.C. 202.

‘Twice in history has there been witnessed the struggle of the highest individual genius against the resources and institutions of a great nation; and in both cases the nation was victorious. For seventeen years Hannibal strove against Rome; for sixteen years Napoleon Buonaparte strove against England: the efforts of the first ended in Zama, those of the second in Waterloo.’—*A.*

‘We may truly say, that in all ancient history there is no war which

equals that against Hannibal in the greatness of the events.* We may on the whole say, that there never was a general superior to Hannibal, and in antiquity there is not even one whom we could place by the side of him: before him all the other Carthaginian generals shrink into insignificance, and I do not hesitate to adopt the opinion of Hannibal himself, when he places himself above Scipio.'—*N.*

'Never did great men more show themselves the living spirit of a nation than Hamilcar, and Hasdrubal, and Hannibal, during a period of nearly fifty years, approved themselves to be to Carthage. It is not merely through our ignorance of the internal state of Carthage, that Hannibal stands so prominent in all our conceptions of the second Punic war: he was really its moving and directing power; and the energy of his country was but a light reflected from his own. History, therefore, gathers itself into his single person: in that vast tempest which, from north and south, from the west and east, broke upon Italy, we see nothing but Hannibal.'—*A.*

HANNIBAL COMMENCES HIS MARCH, conquers the North of Spain, enters Gaul with 50,000 foot and 9000 horse, crosses the Rhone above its confluence with the Durance, where the Pont St. Esprit now stands, (*N.*), and enters Italy, after a five months' march, with 12,000 African and 8000 Spanish infantry, and 6000 cavalry (according to Polybius). 'He had the enumeration engraved on a column near the Lacinian promontory.'—*Mich.*

'The ancients and moderns are alike divided in their opinions; but Melville has proved, by the strongest possible evidence, that Hannibal marched across the little St. Bernard, and that this took place about the beginning of October.'—*N.*

BATTLE OF THE TICINUS, DEFEAT OF SCIPIO; AND OF THE TREBIA, DEFEAT OF SCIPIO AND SEMPRONIUS, B.C. 218.

'Since the disaster of Caudium, more than a hundred years before, there had been known no defeat of two consular armies united; and the surprise and vexation must have been very great.'—*A.* 'The victory of the Trebia gave all the Gauls as auxiliaries to the Carthaginian general. His army was at once increased to 90,000 (?) men.'—*Mich.*

March of Hannibal through the marshes. BATTLE OF THE LAKE THRASYMENUS; DEFEAT AND DEATH OF FLAMINIUS, B.C. 217; and devastation of Umbria.

* 'Bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quæ unquam gesta sint—quod Hannibale duce, Karthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere.'—*Livy, xxi. 1.*

'The white oxen of the Clitumnus, so often offered in sacrifice to the gods of Rome by her triumphant generals, were now the spoil of the enemy, and were slaughtered on the altars of the gods of Carthage, amidst prayers for the destruction of Rome. The left bank of the Tiber again heard the Gaulish war-cry; and the terrified inhabitants fled to the mountains, or into the fortified cities, from this unwonted storm of barbarian invasion. The figures and arms of the Gauls, however formidable, might be familiar to many of the Umbrians; but they gazed in wonder on the slingers from the Balearian islands; on the hardy Spanish foot, conspicuous by their white linen coats, bordered with scarlet; on the regular African infantry, who had not yet exchanged their long lances and small shields for the long shield and stabbing sword of the Roman soldier; on the heavy cavalry, so numerous, and mounted on horses so superior to those of Italy; above all, on the bands of wild Numidians, who rode without saddle or bridle, as if the rider and his horse were one creature, and who scoured over the country with a speed and impetuosity defying escape or resistance.'—A.

March of Hannibal into Apulia; **FABIUS MAXIMUS*** appointed Dictator; his campaign; Minucius defeated and nearly totally destroyed; Hannibal ravages Samnium and enters Campania.

'The work of Silanus, the Greek historian, who lived with Hannibal daily, is lost to us; but had it been worthy of his opportunities, anecdotes from it must have been quoted by other writers, and we should know what Hannibal was. Then, too, the generals who were his daily companions would be something more to us than names; we should know Maharbal, the best cavalry officer of the finest cavalry service in the world; and Hasdrubal, who managed the commissariat of the army for so many years in an enemy's country; and Hannibal's younger brother, Mago, so full of youthful spirit and enterprise, who commanded the ambush at the battle of the Trebia. We might learn something, too, of that Hannibal surnamed the Fighter, who was the general's counsellor, ever prompting him, it was said, to deeds of savage cruelty, but whose counsels Hannibal would not have listened to had they been merely cruel; had they not breathed a spirit of deep devotion to the cause of Carthage, and of deadly hatred to Rome, such as possessed the heart of Hannibal himself. But Silanus saw and heard without heeding or recording, and on the tent and camp of Hannibal there hangs a veil, which the fancy of the poet may penetrate, but the historian turns away in deep disappointment, for to him it yields neither sight nor sound.'—A.

BATTLE OF CANNÆ; defeat of Æm. Paullus and Terent. Varro, B.C. 216.

'Æm. Paullus was among the slain, and the number of the dead, according to the lowest estimation, amounted to 40,000 foot and 2700 horse.'—N.

'Forced together into one unwieldy crowd, and already falling by thousands, whilst the Gauls and Spaniards, now advancing in their turn,

* '*Unus qui nobis cunctando restituit rem.*'—Enn.

were barring further progress in front, and whilst the Africans were tearing their mass to pieces on both flanks, Hasdrubal with his victorious Gaulish and Spanish horsemen, broke with thundering fury upon their rear. Then followed a butchery such as has no recorded equal, except the slaughter of the Persians in their camp, when the Greeks forced it after the battle of Plataea. Unable to fight or fly, with no quarter asked or given, the Romans and Italians fell before the swords of their enemies, till, when the sun set upon the field, there were left out of that vast multitude no more than three thousand men alive and unwounded.—*A.* Hannibal justified in not marching upon Rome. ‘The fidelity of the Latin colonies, and Hannibal’s want of artillery, were the main causes of his failure.’—*A.*

Treaty of Hannibal with Philip of Macedon; First Macedonian War, B.C. 213—205; alliance, unhappily for Greece, concluded between the Romans and Ætolians; frightful ravages committed by the Romans.

‘The successor of Alexander would willingly have consented to a partition of the world, which gave him the East and left the West to Hannibal. A powerful diversion was therefore necessary in favour of the latter. But he was thought to be so strong after Cannæ that Philip feared his conquering too rapidly; he acted feebly, and allowed himself to be beaten at the mouth of the river Aôus. The Romans afterwards raised the Ætolians against him as enemies—brigands, who asked nothing better than war and pillage.’—*Mich.*

Revolt of Capua, and of Lucania, Bruttium, the greater part of Samnium, and of almost all the Greek towns of Italy, to Hannibal. He receives reinforcements and elephants the year after the battle; the exact numbers are not mentioned, but they must have been considerable; he also levies troops among the Italians. Great exertions of the Romans under Q. Fabius Max. and Marcellus, ‘the shield and sword of Rome.’

TAKING OF TARENTUM BY HANNIBAL, AND STORMS OF LEONTINI AND SYRACUSE BY MARCELLUS, B.C. 212. ‘Syracuse, which had led captive the hosts of Athens, and seen the invading armies of Carthage melt away by disease under her walls, till scarce any remained to fly—Syracuse, where Dionysius had reigned, which Timoleon had freed, which Hiero had cherished and sheltered under his long paternal rule—was now become subject to barbarians, whom she had helped in their utmost need, and who were repaying the unshaken friendship of Hiero with the plunder of his city and the subjugation of his people.’—*A.* P. and Cn. Scipio conquered and killed in Spain. Hannibal destroys the armies of M. Centenius and Cn. Fulvius,

and advances in sight of Rome, in his endeavour to relieve Capua. **RECOVERY OF CAPUA BY THE ROMANS.**

'The inhabitants suffered everything that can be inflicted by an army of enraged soldiers, who were, in truth, no better than demons. All Campanian citizens were compelled to quit the towns; the noblest persons were thrown into chains; and Fulvius Flaccus ordered all the senators to be put to death.'—*N.*

'Although not rewarded by a triumph, the conquest of Capua was one of the most important services ever rendered by a Roman general to his country. Its effect was felt far and wide, encouraging the allies of Rome, and striking terror into her enemies. By it the great experiment of Hannibal seemed decided against him. It appeared impossible, under any circumstances, to rally such a coalition of the Italian States against the Roman power in Italy, as might be able to overthrow it.'—*A.*

PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO (afterwards the famous Scipio **AFRICANUS**) SENT INTO SPAIN, of which he makes himself master, expelling the Carthaginians, between B.C. 210—B.C. 205. Conquest of Sicily by Lævinus; devastation of the island.

Submission of Samnium and Lucania to the Romans. Crispinus and Marcellus, Coss, defeated by Hannibal, near Venusia; Marcellus killed.

MARCH OF HASDRUBAL FROM SPAIN TO ITALY; HE CROSSES THE ALPS, BUT IS DEFEATED AND SLAIN BY CLAUD. NERO AND M. LIVIUS SALINATOR, COSS, AT THE BATTLE OF THE METAURUS, B.C. 207.

Scipio returns from Spain, after taking New Carthage, winning the battles of Bæcula (P) and Elinga, over Hasdrubal Gisco, and making an alliance with Massinissa, B.C. 205. Hannibal remains inactive in Bruttium. 'Hannibal was confined to Bruttium, and was hardly able to step over into Lucania; but in this confinement he resembled a lion surrounded by hounds, and whoever attacked him, paid dearly for it.'—*N.*

'The account of Hannibal's operations during the three or four years that preceded his return to Africa, is peculiarly unsatisfactory. The Roman writers have transmitted some reports of victories obtained over him in Italy, too audacious in falsehood for even themselves to have believed. But in truth, the terror with which he continued to inspire his enemies, after his career of success was closed, is even more wonderful than his first brilliant triumphs. For four years after the death of Hasdrubal, he remained in undisputed possession of Bruttium, when the Romans had re-conquered all the rest of Italy. Here he maintained his army,

without receiving any supplies from home, and with no other naval force at his disposal, than such vessels as he could build from the Brutian forests, and man with the sailors of the country. At length, when it was plain that no new diversion could be effected in his favour, and when the dangerous situation of his country called for his presence, as the last hope of Carthage, he embarked his troops without the slightest interruption from the Romans; and moved only by the disasters of others, while his own army was unbroken and unbeaten, he abandoned Italy fifteen years after he had first entered it, having ravaged it with fire and sword from one extremity to the other, and having never seen his numerous victories chequered by a single defeat.'—*A.*

SCIPIO CROSSES INTO AFRICA AND BLOCKADES UTICA, AFTER FRIGHTFULLY RAVAGING THE COUNTRY. Massinissa goes over to the Romans.

'Massinissa was no better than a common barbarian: he was a base traitor, who deserves the hatred of every honest man. His whole life was an uninterrupted series of treacheries against Carthage.'—*N.*

Destruction of the Carthaginian and Numidian armies, under Hasdrubal Gisco and Syphax, by Scipio. They are again defeated, and Syphax is taken prisoner.

HANNIBAL RETURNS TO AFRICA: *Battle of Zama, B.C. 202*, AND CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

'The consequences of the battle far exceeded the greatness of the immediate victory. It was not the mere destruction of an army; but the final conquest of the only power that seemed able to combat Rome on equal terms. In the state of the ancient world, with so few nations really great and powerful, and so little of a common feeling pervading them, there was neither the disposition nor the materials for forming a general confederacy against the power of Rome, and the single efforts of Macedonia, of Syria, and of Carthage herself, after the fatal event of the Second Punic war, were of no other use than to provoke their own ruin. The defeat of Hannibal ensured the empire of the ancient civilized world.'—*A.*

'How great must have been the genius of the man, who could form such a heterogeneous mass into a compact and organized body; who could not only avail himself of the valour of such troops to gain victories, but could inspire them with the spirit of patient discipline, so that they were true to him in his adverse, as well as his prosperous fortunes; and finally, after fifteen years of Italian warfare, followed their old leader to Zama, 'with no fear and little hope;' and there, on that disastrous field, stood firm around him, his old guard, till Scipio's Numidian allies came up on their flank; when at last, surrounded and overpowered, the veteran battalions sealed their devotion to their general by their blood!'—*C. R.*

The veterans of Scipio's army received settlements in Apulia and Lucania—'the first instance of such provisions being made for veterans.'—*N.*

The Second Macedonian War, B.C. 200—B.C. 197, conducted by Sulpicius, Villius, and Flaminius, ended by the BATTLE OF CYNOSCEPHALÆ.

WAR WITH THE INSUBRIAN AND BOIAN GAULS, B.C. 200—B.C. 191, ends with the extirpation of the latter nation.

The *Lex Porcia de capite civium*—that no Roman citizen should be scourged or put to death, B.C. 197. [P]

WAR WITH KING ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT, OF SYRIA: he is conquered by L. Cornelius Scipio (ASIATICUS) in the BATTLE OF MAGNESIA, B.C. 190.

Conquest of the Ætolians and Galatians; and war with the Ligurians, continued down to B.C. 173.

GROWING CORRUPTION OF ROME, AND OF PROFLIGACY AND TYRANNY AMONG THE NOBLES, WITHSTOOD BY CATO THE CENSOR: THE FALL OF THE SCIPIOS. 'The Middle Classes were rapidly disappearing: above the position which they had occupied, an oligarchy of wealth had reared itself: beneath, a degraded mass of poverty and misery was fermenting.'—*C. R.*

'There was no longer a republic, if no one had the courage to oppose the Scipios, and to insist upon their rendering an account, as citizens: Cato found an opportunity for doing this, after the war of Antiochus, (B.C. 187.) Their conduct in this war had been more than suspicious. The two brothers had regulated the conditions of peace on their private authority. What sums, it was asked, did they bring from the rich Asia, what spoils from the successor of Alexander, the master of Antioch and Babylon?'—*Mich.*

Condemnation of L. Scipio, (As.) for embezzlement. Cato, as Censor, expels L. Flaminius from the Senate. P. Scipio (Africanus) accused, retires into voluntary exile.

'The history of Scipio is very instructive, for it shows how the state was hastening towards its dissolution: We hear it generally said that,

with the victories of the Romans in Asia, luxury, and all the vices which accompany avarice and rapacity, began to break in upon them. This is, indeed, true enough, but it was only the symptom of corruption, and not its cause: the latter lay much deeper. After so many years of destructive and cruel wars, during which the Romans had been almost uninterruptedly in arms, the whole nation was in a frightful condition: the poor were utterly impoverished, the middle class had sunk deeper and deeper, and the wealthy had amassed immense riches. The same men who had marched into rich foreign countries as hungry soldiers, now returned with exorbitant riches—the treasures extorted from conquered nations. The officers and nobles had now opportunities to satisfy their desires with splendid buildings and luxuries of every kind, and to fill their houses with costly furniture, carpets, and plate. The Romans had grown rich, but the immediate consequence was a brutal use of their riches.—*N.*

INTRODUCTION OF THE ORIENTAL WORSHIPS AT ROME; PROGRESS OF CORRUPTION.

‘In one single year it was found that 200 women had poisoned their husbands to make way for other spouses—what must have been the policy of such a people? what their relations with foreign nations? Perfidious, unjust, atrocious; we should be sure of this, even had not the destruction of Macedonia and Greece, of Carthage and Numantia, expressly proved it.—*Mich.*

Deaths of Scipio Africanus and Hannibal, B.C. 183.

‘Hannibal’s whole conduct displays the loftiest genius, and the boldest spirit of enterprise, happily subdued, and directed by a cool judgment, to the furtherance of the honour and interests of his country; and his sacrifice of selfish pride and passion, when, after the battle of Zama, he urged the acceptance of peace, and lived to support the disgrace of Carthage, with the patient hope of one day repairing it, affords a strong contrast to the cowardly despair with which some of the best of the Romans deprived their country of their services by suicide. Of the extent of his abilities, the history of his life is the best evidence: as a general, his conduct remains uncharged with a single error; for the idle censure which Livy presumes to pass on him for not marching to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, is founded on such mere ignorance, that it does not deserve any serious notice. His knowledge of human nature, and his ascendancy over men’s minds, are shown by the uninterrupted authority which he exercised alike in his prosperity and adversity, over an army composed of so many and discordant materials, and which had no other bond than the personal character of the leader. As a statesman, he was at once manly, disinterested, and sensible; a real reformer of abuses in his domestic policy, and in his measures, with respect to foreign enemies, keeping the just limit between weakness and blind obstinacy.—*A.*

Third Macedonian War, B.C. 171—B.C. 168, against Perseus, ends, after a resolute struggle, with the defeat of Perseus, at Pydna, by Æm. Paulus, and the end of the Macedonian monarchy.

'Such was the universal terror, that the infinite nations hostile to Rome only assisted Perseus with their good wishes. Thrace and Illyria alone united their arms to those of Macedonia. Into what an agony of terror the fall of Perseus threw all the kings of the earth, can hardly be imagined.'—*Mich.*

Antiochus Epiphanes compelled by the Romans to quit Egypt, which is divided by them between Philometor and Physcon. Submission of Eumenes and Prusias.

'Prusias arrived, his head shaved, and wearing the dress and rage of a freed slave. He prostrated himself upon the threshold, saying, 'I salute you, saviours, gods;' and again, 'You behold one of your freed-men, ready to execute your orders.'—*Mich.*

BARBAROUS TREATMENT OF THE MACEDONIANS AND MOLOSSIANS BY ÆM. PAULLUS.

'No less than 15,000 Epirots were massacred in cold blood or sold into slavery, and seventy towns were destroyed. Such was the conduct of a man who is often cited as an example of mildness and humanity'—*The 1000 Achæan Hostages.*

Spanish War of Marcellus and Lucullus against the Celtiberians and Lusitanians, B.C. 155—150, conducted by the Romans with the utmost cruelty and perfidy.

The Romans encourage Massinissa in his encroachments on Carthage; which leads to the **Third Punic War, B.C. 149—146.**

'By the treaty which terminated the second Punic war, Rome had bound Carthage, and had attached to her a vampire to suck her blood until she sank exhausted: I speak of the restless and ferocious Massinissa, who lived a century, to the utter despair of the Carthaginians.'—

'The whole transaction with Carthage was a cursed and diabolical undertaking.'—*N.*

WAR AGAINST THE PSEUDO-PHILIP OF MACEDONIA, AND AFTERWARDS AGAINST THE ACHÆANS, 'during which the Romans ravaged the country in the most cruel manner,' B.C. 149—146; ends with the final defeat of the Achæans, by Mummius, at Leucopetra, and the TAKING AND SACK OF CORINTH, in the same year that Carthage was taken and razed by Scipio Africanus the Younger.

Macedonia made a Roman Province.

'From this time we must date the great wealth of the Romans, but

the condition of the people grew worse and worse: the cancer of poverty spread further every year, while one class of the population accumulated enormous riches. The moral corruption was general at Rome, and, even before the war against Perseus, Roman history has recorded some monstrous crimes. The republic grew richer in the same proportion as the inner or moral condition of the people became worse.'—*N.*

War with Viriathus in Spain, B.C. 146—B.C. 140, conducted by Fabius, Metellus, the Prætor Q. Pompeius, Servilianus, and Cæpio.

'Viriathus successively defeated five prætors, enclosed the Consul Servilianus in a defile, and forced him to draw up a *treaty between the Roman nation and Viriathus*. The senate ratified the treaty, and caused Viriathus to be assassinated during his sleep. This man was not the chief of an ordinary band. He had sought to unite the Lusitanians with the Celtiberians, as the only means of giving to Spain what she wanted to render her more powerful than Rome—unity. His death broke an alliance so dangerous to the Romans: the whole war of Celtiberia was now concentrated in Numantia, the capital of the Arvaci.'—*Mich.*

The Numantine War, B.C. 143—B.C. 133, finished by the destruction of Numantia by *Scipio Africanus the Younger*, surnamed *Numantinus*.

A Roman Province formed in Spain.

'At the time when all the kings of the earth paid homage to the Roman people, represented by the senate, this people was becoming extinguished, consumed by the double action of eternal war, and of a devouring system of legislation: it was disappearing from Italy. The Roman, passing his life in camps, beyond the seas, rarely returned to visit his little field. He had, in most cases, indeed, no land or shelter at all, nor any other domestic gods than the eagles of the legions. An exchange was becoming established between Italy and the provinces. Italy sent her children to die in distant lands, and received in compensation millions of slaves. Thus, a new people succeeded to the absent or destroyed Roman people. Slaves took the place of masters, proudly occupied the Forum, and, in their fantastic saturnalia, governed, by their decrees, the Latins and the Italians, who filled the legions. It was soon no longer a question where were the plebeians of Rome. They had left their bones on every shore. Camps, urns, and immortal roads—these were all that remained of them.'—*Mich.*

The Servile War in Sicily, B.C. 134—B.C. 132,
UNDER EUNUS. 'A rebellion exhibiting the most frightful scenes of horror and murderous fury; similar to that of the negroes in St. Domingo in 1791.'—*S.*

'Four Roman Prætorian armies were defeated, until the Consul P. Rupilius at length conquered them, and took their fortified places.'—*N.*

Pergamus bequeathed to the Romans by King Attalus III. B.C. 133.

'Attalus died without issue, and left his whole kingdom to the Romans, who certainly would not easily have recognised any one else as his successor; for they looked upon his kingdom as their own property, which they had a right to claim, just as a master had the right of succession to the estate of his slave or his freedman, who died without having made a will.'—N. 'Thus, by a stroke of the pen, the largest and finest part of Asia Minor became the property of Rome. If this extraordinary legacy was the work of Roman policy, she paid dear enough in the long run for this accession to her power and riches, by the destruction of her morals, and the dreadful wars to which this legacy gave rise under Mithridates.'—H.

THE POSSESSIONS OF ROME AT THIS PERIOD.

Besides all Italy, the provinces of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Liguria, Cisalpine Gaul, the two Spains, Africa, (the territory of Carthage,) in the West.—And in the East, Macedonia, Illyria, Epirus, Achaia, and part of Asia Minor, (the territory of Pergamus.)

'These provinces were governed by those who had enjoyed the office of consul, and by prætors, subordinate to whom were the quæstors, or collectors of the revenue. The highest military and civil powers were united in these governors; a principal cause of that horrible oppression which was soon felt.'—H.

Principal Sources of the Roman Revenue (*vectigalia*) were—1. *Tribute*, *a.* paid by the Roman citizens; that is, a property-tax imposed by the Senate, according to the urgency of the case, (which however was remitted for a long time after the war with Perseus): *b.* Tribute of the allies (*socii*) in Italy; which seems also to have been a property-tax, differing in different places: *c.* Tribute of the provinces, in some cases a poll-tax, and in others a property-tax.

2. The tithes (*decumæ*) paid to the State by those who occupied the *ager publicus*, both in Italy and in the provinces.
3. The revenue from customs on imports and exports, (*portoria*.)
4. The revenues from the mines, (*metalla*), and from the salt-works, (*salinae*.)
5. The duty of five per cent. (*vicesima manumissionum*) upon enfranchised slaves.
6. The duty of one per cent. on all things which were sold (*centesima rerum venalium*); a tax not instituted till the time of the civil wars.—H. & S. D.

Great increase about this time in the power of the Tribuneship.

THE TROUBLES UNDER THE GRACCHI, B.C. 133-121.

'If it had been possible for one man to find a remedy for all these evils, to restore to the lower classes of the people the lands and the love of labour they had lost, to put a stop to the tyranny of the senate and the cupidity of the knights, to arrest that flood of slaves coming from all parts of the world to spread over Italy and destroy its free population; if this had been possible for one man, that man would have been the master and benefactor of the empire. Lælius, and, perhaps, Scipio Emilianus, who shared all his views, had thought of this reform, but they perceived its impracticability, and were wise enough to give it up. The Gracchi made the attempt, and thus lost their life, their honour, and even their virtue.'—*Mich.*

Tib. Semp. Gracchus endeavours to relieve the distress of the lower orders by a bill, enforcing the ancient *Lex Licinia*, ('which, however, in the condition in which Rome now was, bore much harder upon the property usurped by the great families than it did in former times.'—*H.* inasmuch as by the principle of usucapion they had acquired a right which did not exist before.') Violent opposition of the senatorial party: the Agrarian law is carried in spite of the resistance of his colleague, M. Octavius, who had been gained over by the other party; but Gracchus and three hundred of his party are murdered in a tumult by the senatorial party, headed by Scipio Nasica. His fall does not destroy his party.

The *Lex Atinia*, a law of great importance, that the tribunes should be senators by virtue of their office.

The two *Tribunates of Caius Semp. Gracchus*. He brings forward the *Leges Sempronie*; including—1. A renewal of the Agrarian laws, the carrying of which into effect had been hindered in every possible way:—2. A *lex frumentaria*, for the distribution of corn to the poor:—3. *De capite civium*, that no Roman citizen should be put to death, except by the command of the people themselves:—4. A *lex judiciaria*, reforming certain courts of justice, (the *judicia publica*,) in which all cases of mal-administration were tried, and which had been composed hitherto by senators exclusively. 'These he now composed of three hundred equites, and made them the sole judges.'—*N.* ('This judicial law remained in force down to the legislation of Sylla, and shows more clearly than anything else that he was not a demagogue, a name by which he has so

frequently been designated.'—S.) Still more important was his project of granting to the Italian allies the privileges of Roman citizenship, and also the formation of colonies, not only in Campania, but also out of Italy in Carthage.—H.

'This plan was so wise and useful, that all intelligent Romans who did not wish to see either the aristocrats or the democrats gaining the upper hand, must have rejoiced at it. Instead of increasing the Roman people by freed-men and a low populace, C. Gracchus intended to add numbers of good and well educated Latins. I do not know of any wiser or more praiseworthy plan than this.'—N.

The senate undermines the popularity of Gracchus by the assistance of the tribune L. Drusus. General Struggle in the City. **INSURRECTION OF THE ARISTOCRACY HEADED BY THE CONSUL OPIMIUS, AND MURDER OF C. GRACCHUS AND THREE THOUSAND CITIZENS OF HIS PARTY, B.C. 121.**

Victory of the Aristocratical Faction.

Evasion of the Agrarian law—1. By a repeal of the law prohibiting the transfer of lands already divided:—2. By the *Lex Thoria*, a complete stop was put to all further divisions.

'Thus the blessings which the Gracchi had so ardently desired to confer upon their country were not realised: the Agrarian law was not observed, and the wealthy optimates continued, as before, to purchase the lands of their poorer neighbours, or to drive them from their farms; whilst the equites, being greatly intimidated by the outrages of the aristocracy, showed at first little independence, and were found in the end to be as accessible to bribery and corruption as the senators had been. Things, in fact, went on much in the same way as they had done before, until they were brought to a crisis in the war against Jugurtha.'—S.

Conquest of the Allobroges and the Dalmatians. A Roman province formed in Gaul.

Commencement of the Cimbrian War. THE FIRST GREAT MIGRATION OF THE NORTHERN TRIBES, B.C. 113—101.

The Cimbri and Teutones,* migrating from the Baltic, (300,000 warriors, besides their families,) defeat the consul Cn. Pap. Carbo, in Noricum, devastate Gaul and Helvetia, defeat Silanus, B.C. 109, Longinus, and Scaurus, and after-

* *The Cimbri, probably, a Celtic, and the Teutones, a German tribe.*

wards annihilate the two consular armies (80,000 soldiers and 40,000 camp-followers) of the consul Mallius and the proc. Cæpio—march into Spain, but being successfully resisted by the Celtiberians in their towns, return into Gaul, and threaten Italy. **Great Victory of MARIUS over the Teutones near Aquæ Sextiæ, B.C. 102.** 'The Teutones were literally annihilated, for those who survived put an end to their own life.'—N. 'The valley, enriched by their blood, became celebrated for its fertility, and the village of Pourrières to this day recalls the name given to the plain, *Campi putridi*, field of putrefaction.'—Mich.

Great Victory of Marius (Consul for the fifth time) and of the Proconsul Catulus over the Cimbri near Verona, B.C. 101.

At the same time, **THE WAR AGAINST JUGURTHA, B.C. 111–106.**

The wickedness of Jugurtha, and the corruption of L. Opimius and Calpurnius Bestia, exposed by the Tribune C. Memmius. Albinus and Q. Metellus afterwards conduct the war, and Marius ends it, and takes Jugurtha prisoner.

The Sixth Consulship of Marius. Sedition and death of the Tribune Saturninus, Glaucia, and their associates, B.C. 100.

ENORMOUS ABUSES OF THE EQUESTRIAN ORDO, AND OF THE PUBLICANI WHO GENERALLY BELONGED TO THAT CLASS.

Attempt of M. Livius Drusus, the Tribune, to introduce a mixture in the composition of the Courts of Justice.

'Of all the reforms of the Gracchi, only one remained; the judicial power was still, notwithstanding the efforts of the senate, in the hands of the knights; that is to say, of the usurers, the rich, and the detainers of the public land. The senators and knights had agreed to annul the Agrarian law. The senate had usurped the previous examination of every law proposed to the people. Thus the two orders shared the republic. The senators possessed the offices and political power; the knights the money, the lands, and the tribunals. Their mutual connivance accelerated the ruin of the people, which was consummated in silence.'—Mich.

Drusus also endeavours to procure the franchise for the Italians, but is assassinated, and all his measures repealed.

OUTBREAK OF THE SOCIAL OR MARSIAN WAR, B.C. 90-88.

'The allies, who, in the wars of the Cimbri and the slaves, composed two-thirds of the Roman army, expected reward. The greater part of them having been despoiled, either formerly by the Roman colonies, or recently by the rapacity of the knights, had, notwithstanding the decrees of the senate, established themselves in the environs of Rome, and introduced themselves into the rustic tribes.'—*Mich.*

'The claims of the Italian nations for the Roman franchise were essentially a revival of the old struggle between the plebeians and the patricians. The Italian tribes, like the plebeian body in its origin, consisted of conquered subjects of Rome, who, by serving in her armies, contributing to her burdens, by a community of manners and customs, were fitted for enfranchisement, and therefore entitled to it. Indeed, in the better times of Rome, the system of enfranchising her subject-allies, of forming new tribes of citizens from them, had gone on hand in hand with the gradual extension of full political rights to the plebeians. This was one great cause of the growth and solidity of her power; and citizens thus acquired formed some of the most glorious of her statesmen and generals. But this wise policy had for a long time been discontinued: no new tribes were formed, no hope was held out to the indignant allies of any such formation; they fought unhonoured under the cold shade of Roman supremacy; they were subjected to the capricious tyranny of every Roman officer in war, every Roman magistrate in peace.'—*C. R.*

'In the alliance against Rome were the Marsi, Picentes, Peligni, Marrucini, Frentani, the Samnites, who played a principal part, the Hirpini, Apuli, and the Lucani. In this war, which was so much the more bloody, as it was mostly composed of separate contests and sieges, Cn. Pompeius the elder, L. Cato, Marius, and above all, Sylla, particularly distinguished themselves on the side of the Romans; and among the allies, Popædus Silo, and C. Papius.'—*H.*

The only thing which saved Rome was the fact, that the Latin Colonies remained faithful to her. **GREAT BATTLE OF ASCULUM, STORM OF THE TOWN BY THE ROMANS.**

'Velleius Paterculus, who, whatever may be said against him, is an ingenious writer and master of his subject, says, that in this war upwards of 300,000 Italians lost their lives. The course of the war, during the second year, can be traced even with less accuracy than during the first. The northern Sabellians, the Marsians, Pelignians, and Marrucinians had, like the Vestinians, concluded a separate peace for themselves; and after their abandonment of the cause of the Italians, the seat of the Italian government was removed to Æsernia, and Italica again received its old name, Corfinium.'—*N.*

THE THREE MITHRIDATIC WARS, B.C. 88-63,
waged by Sylla, Fimbria, Metellus, Lucullus, and
Pompey, against MITHRIDATES, King of Pontus.

**THE CIVIL WAR OF MARIUS AND SYLLA,
B.C. 88-82.**

Jealousy of Marius against Sylla from his fame gained in the Marsian war, increased by the appointment of Sylla by the senate to conduct the war against Mithridates. Alliance of Marius with the tribune Sulpicius; a plebiscitum carried, transferring the command to Marius. Sylla, who was still at Nola, marches on Rome with six legions, expels and outlaws Marius, but uses his victory with great moderation; Marius flies to Carthage. Cn. Octavius, of the party of Sylla, and Cinna, of that of Marius, elected consuls. Cinna, after Sylla's departure for Greece, gets a law passed that the persons outlawed by Sylla should be recalled, and to win the favour of the new citizens, promises to carry into effect the law of Sulpicius, by which they and the freedmen were to be distributed among the thirty-five old tribes. Violent struggle, in which Cinna is defeated and expelled from Rome; he recalls Marius, who is joined by Pap. Carbo and Q. Sertorius; Latium devastated; **ROME FORCED TO SURRENDER; CINNA AND MARIUS CAUSE THEMSELVES TO BE DECLARED CONSULS; FRIGHTFUL PILLAGE AND MASSACRE.** 'The victory which the rebels had thus gained was followed by the wildest cruelties. Marius had a body-guard of slaves, whom he sent out to murder those whom he wished to get rid of. In this manner the most distinguished persons were dispatched, especially his personal enemies. Among these unhappy victims was the celebrated orator, M. Antonius. Q. Catulus, who had once been the colleague of Marius, put an end to his own life. No proscription took place, but the butchery was carried on to such an extent that at length even Cinna himself could bear it no longer; and he was induced, by the advice of Sertorius, to put to death the band of servile assassins kept by Marius. On the sixteenth day after Marius had entered on his seventh consulship, he died, in the middle of January. The shedding of blood now ceased, but not the bitter spirit of the parties.'—N. Pap. Carbo consul; Cinna murdered by his soldiers. Sylla, who had exacted in the Mithridatic wars the most enormous sums from the conquered countries for the support of his army and to carry on the civil war, returns, after a space of three years, to Italy; conquers *Norbanus*, and afterwards the younger *Marius*, near *Saci-*

portum; takes Præneste, and conquers the Samnites under Pontius Telesinus in a decisive battle near the Colline Gate. **Hideous slaughter and proscriptions** of probably more than 100,000 Roman citizens in different parts of Italy. **Sylla created perpetual Dictator, B.C. 82.** 'The victory of Sylla was the triumph of Rome over Italy; in Rome itself, that of the nobles over the rich, particularly over the knights; as for the common people, we have seen that they only existed in name. Two thousand six hundred knights were proscribed, with eighty senators belonging to their party. Their wealth, which had been amassed by usury, by the ruin of free men, by the sweat and the blood of many generations of slaves, became the property of the soldiers, the generals, and the senators. Sylla announced himself as the avenger of the laws, the restorer of the ancient republic. The election of the pontiffs and the judicial power, in other words the religious authority, and the application of the laws, were confided to the senate; the comitia of the tribes were abolished; the tribuneship existed only in name; every tribune was declared incapable of any other office.'—*Mich.* **HIS REFORM (?) OF THE CONSTITUTION; RESTORATION OF THE POWER OF THE SENATE; REDUCTION OF THE TRIBUNICIAN POWER TO WHAT IT HAD BEEN PREVIOUS TO THE PUBLILIAN LAW; THUS UNDOING THE WORK OF CENTURIES, BY TAKING FROM THEM THEIR LEGISLATIVE POWER; THE GREATEST CHANGE OF ALL WAS THAT BY WHICH HE RESTORED THE JUDICIA TO THE SENATE.** 'Sylla neglected everything that he ought to have done, and did everything that was foolish.'—*N.* **PROSCRIPTION AND DEPOPULATION OF WHOLE CITIES TO GIVE PLACE TO SYLLA'S LEGIONS.** 'Twenty-three, or, according to other but incorrect accounts, forty-seven legions, had military colonies assigned to them in Italy; the meaning of which is this—a certain legion, when dismissed from service, was constituted as the body of citizens of a certain town, the whole territory of which was given up to the legionaries. If its extent did not come up to what the imperator had promised, pieces were cut away from neighbouring districts and added to the colony.'—*N.*

WAR WITH SERTORIUS, ('a man of noble disposition and great skill in war,') (B.C. 83—72,) who had escaped into Spain, and become general of the Lusitani; *prosecuted unsuccessfully* by Metellus and Pompey; Ser-

torius is assassinated. **ABDICATION OF SYLLA,***
B.C. 79.

**MISERABLE CONDITION OF ITALY AT THIS
TIME, AND SPREAD OF CORRUPTION.**

'As regards the manners and mode of life of the Romans, their great object at this time was the acquisition and possession of money. Their moral conduct, which had been corrupt enough before the social war, became still more so by their systematic plunder and rapine; immense riches were accumulated and squandered upon brutal pleasures. The simplicity of the old manners and mode of living had been abandoned for Greek luxuries and frivolities, and the whole household arrangements had become altered. The condition of Italy after the social and civil wars was indescribably wretched. Samnium had become almost a desert; and as late as the time of Strabo there was scarcely any town in that country which was not in ruins. But worse things were yet to come. In all the towns which had received military colonies, the whole of the old population had been expelled and reduced to beggary, unless they farmed their former estates as tenants of their new lords, and thus had an opportunity of waiting till the licentious soldiers were reduced to the necessity of selling their property. All these unfortunate creatures, as well as many of the military colonists who had already squandered their newly-acquired fortunes, were ready to take up arms.'—*N.*

WAR WITH SPARTACUS, B.C. 73–71.

Spartacus, at the head of a vast army of revolted gladiators and slaves, with his generals Crixus and Oenomaus, defeats three prætors and two consular armies, and takes and ravages Nola, Thurii, Grumentum, and other towns. They are at last defeated by Crassus, and those who escaped the rout are met and cut off by Pompey.

**FRIGHTFUL RAVAGE AND DESOLATION IN
THE SOUTH OF ITALY; EXTIRPATION OF THE
FREE POPULATION; Verres Proprætor in Sicily;
ACTIVITY OF THE CILICIAN PIRATES.**

'The empire was now in a worse state than before it had passed through the hands of the merciless physician Sylla. A short time after his death, the Italian party was restored, under Lepidus and Brutus. Cisalpine Gaul and Etruria, whose ruin had paid the expenses of the

* 'The Roman, when his burning heart
Was slaked with blood of Rome,
Threw down the dagger—dared depart
In savage grandeur home.'—*Byron.*

civil war, revolted, but were entirely reduced; the veterans of Sylla were everywhere in arms to maintain their usurpation against the former landowners. The Italian party was more successful in Spain, where Sertorius had the address to mix his cause with that of national independence. In Asia, the knights and publicans exercised the same exactions after the departure of Lucullus, who had restrained them; usury, violence, outrage, the seizing of free men as slaves, all the same abuses had recommenced; they would soon bring about the same insurrection, and give up Asia to Mithridates. In the other provinces, the senators, again become masters of the judicial power, and sure of impunity, committed robberies which would scarcely be believed, if the prosecution of Verres had not proved them judicially. Finally, in all the Roman world devouring slavery made free populations disappear, to substitute for them barbarians, who themselves disappeared, but who would, under Spartacus at least, be tempted to avenge their death. All the enemies of the empire, Sertorius, Mithridates, and Spartacus, the proscribed Romans, the dispossessed Italians, insurgent provincials, men reduced to slavery, could all communicate by the medium of the fugitives, who were spread on all the seas, and who infested them with their piracies. Liberty had formed against the tyranny of the Roman empire another empire on the water—a wandering Carthage, which no one knew where to seize, and which floated from Spain to Asia.—*Mich.*

CONSULSHIP OF POMPEY AND CRASSUS, B.C. 70.

Pompey restores the power of the Tribunes exactly to what it was previous to the reforms of Sylla. The *Lex Aurelia* (of Aurelius Cotta) annuls the ordinance of Sylla, which transferred the judicia from the equites to the senate; *the judices to be chosen from the senators, equites, and tribuni ærarii.*

WAR AGAINST THE ISAUURIAN PIRATES, (begun B.C. 78) carried on by Servilius, M. Antonius, and L. Metellus, who also conquered Crete, B.C. 67. THE PIRATIC WAR FINISHED BY POMPEY, B.C. 67.

'The whole of the Mediterranean, from the coast of Syria to the Pillars of Hercules, was covered with privateers. Their prisoners were dragged to fortified places on the coasts, and were compelled to pay enormous sums as ransom, and, in case of their being unable to raise the money required, they were thrown into the sea. These pirates made descents even upon the coast of Italy; and, in the very neighbourhood of Ostia, towns were destroyed, and distinguished Romans, nay, even prætors, with all the ensigns of their office, were dragged from the high roads as prisoners. It was almost impossible to supply Rome with provisions, and the city was perpetually suffering from scarcity.

Pompey took his measures in such a way that he drew the pirates together, as it were, by a bait, from all parts of the Mediterranean, towards Cilicia; he there conquered them in a glorious sea-fight, finishing the whole war in less than three months.—*N.*

Pompey goes into Asia.

‘The tyranny of the knights, usurers, and publicans was so great, that every one expected a general insurrection after the departure of Pompey. All the ambitious men held themselves in readiness—Cæsar, Crassus, Catiline, the tribune Rullus, and even the indolent inheritors of the name of Sylla. The conquering party, that of the knights, was disarmed by the removal of its general, and had only Cicero to oppose to the dangers which menaced the republic on all sides. Liberty was not thought of; it had long perished; but property itself was in danger. The evil which caused the breaking up of this old society was the injustice and illegality which marked the origin of all property in Italy. The ancient Italian races of the south, who had long been deprived of their lands, either by the Roman populace sent in colonies, or by the usurers, knights, and publicans, had been almost annihilated by Sylla. Usury had expropriated, in their turn, the ancient Roman colonists, and the soldiers established by Sylla in Etruria. The senators and the knights changed their lands into pasturage, and substituted for free labourers enslaved shepherds. Etruria, which had long been preserved, in its turn suffered this cruel transformation. In every part of Italy wandered a formidable mass of ex-landowners, who had been dispossessed at different epochs; first the Italians, and above all the Etruscans, exterminated by Sylla; then the soldiers of Sylla themselves, and often the noble Roman, who had ruined himself after having ruined them; all equally in one state of misery. Add to these, ferocious herdsmen, wandering with their master’s flocks in the solitudes of the Apennines, often no longer acknowledging masters, and subsisting on plunder, like the black maroons of the modern colonies; and lastly, the gladiators, wild beasts who had been kept unchained, to be let loose on occasion, and who constituted, for each senator and each knight, a little army of assassins.’—*Mich.*

Catilinarian Conspiracy, B.C. 65–62, suppressed by Cicero; the Catiline orations. ‘If Catiline really had any object at all, unless we suppose the crimes themselves to have been his object, it must have been that of making himself tyrant, and of becoming a second Sylla, without the intention, however, of ever resigning his tyranny.’—*N.* Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius put to death in prison; Catiline defeated and killed in Etruria by Petreius.

‘The suppression of this conspiracy, however, did not stay the effect which the recently concluded Asiatic war had upon the Roman manners. The luxury of the East, though united with Grecian taste, which had been introduced among the great by Lucullus; the immense riches poured into the treasury by Pompey; the tempting examples of unlimited power, which single citizens had already exercised; the pur-

chase of the magistracy by individuals, in order, like Verres, after the squandering of millions, to enrich themselves again in the provinces; the demands of soldiers upon their generals; and the ease with which an army might be raised by him who had only money enough to pay it; all these circumstances must have foreboded new and approaching convulsions; even if the preceding storms in this colossal republic, in which we must now judge of virtues and vices, as well as of riches and power, by a very magnified standard, had not formed men of that gigantic character they did.'—*H.*

RETURN OF POMPEY TO ITALY, B.C. 62, after having conquered Mithridates, subdued Phœnicia, made Syria a Roman province, and taken Jerusalem.

Pompey's triumph, the most splendid Rome had yet witnessed, lasts two days, for the conquest of fifteen nations.

'The triumph of Pompey was more splendid than any hitherto seen. The names of the conquered nations were borne on banners—Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Judea, Arabia, and lastly, the pirates. It was then seen that the conquests of Pompey had increased the public revenues from fifty millions of drachmas to nearly eighty-two millions; that he had poured into the treasury the value of twenty thousand talents, without counting a distribution of fifteen hundred drachmas to each soldier. Pompey, who had triumphed the first time in Africa, the second in Europe, (after Sertorius,) now triumphed in Asia.'—*Mich.*

SECRET ALLIANCE, formed by the interposition of Cæsar, between CÆSAR, POMPEY, AND CRASSUS, known as the **FIRST TRIUMVIRATE**, B.C. 60.

Cæsar's Consul., B.C. 59. His Agrarian Law. He obtains the two Gauls and Illyria for five years.

INCREASING CORRUPTION AND ANARCHY IN THE INTERNAL CONDITION OF THE STATE.

The Triumvirate, to establish their power, get rid, by the management of the tribune Clodius, of the leaders of the Senate, Cato and Cicero; the former sent to take possession of Cyprus, the latter banished. Jealousy of the members of the Triumvirate. Cæsar obtains the Gauls for another five years, Pompey and Crassus the *Consulate*, and the provinces of Spain and Syria.

CÆSAR'S EIGHT CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL,

B.C. 58—50, during which

he arrests the emigration of the Helvetii, expels the Germans under Ariovistus, B.C. 58. Completes the conquest of Gaul by subduing the Belgæ, B.C. 57, the Aquitani, B.C. 56. Invades Britain twice, in B.C. 55, and B.C. 54, and penetrates into Germany. Overthrows the Gauls, who revolt repeatedly, conquers Vercingetorix, and entirely subdues the country, B.C. 53—B.C. 51.

CRASSUS pillages the temple at Jerusalem, and **INVADES PARTHIA**, B.C. 54. Is surrounded and cut off by the Parthians, under Suræna, the general of King Orodes, at Carrhæ. 20,000 Romans killed, and 10,000 taken prisoners, B.C. 53.

JEALOUSY OF CÆSAR AND POMPEY: Pompey aspires to be the Head of the Republic; riots at Rome, death of Clodius, **POMPEY IS APPOINTED SOLE CONSUL**, B.C. 52. Cæsar demands to hold the Consulship when absent: decree of the Senate passed by the influence of the Pompeians that Cæsar should resign his command by a certain day.

'Pompey reigned in Rome; he wished to reign over the empire. To obtain his end, it was necessary to disarm Cæsar. The first step towards this, was to deprive him of two legions, under a pretext of carrying on a war with the Parthians. Cæsar demanded to be permitted, although absent, to put himself in the lists for the consulate. The law was against this. Pompey hastened to declare that the law should be derogated in favour of Cæsar; and at the same time, he incited the consul Marcellus to oppose it. Pompey having obtained Spain and Africa, Cæsar was lost if he did not preserve the Gauls. Cato boldly announced that he would accuse him as soon as he entered Rome. However, Cæsar offered to lay down his arms, if Pompey would do so likewise. Law was for Pompey, equity for Cæsar. He was sustained by the tribunes, Curio and Antony, whom he had bribed. Such was the violence of the Pompeians, of Marcellus, of Lentulus, and of Scipio, that they drove the tribunes from the senate. The magistrates escaped from Rome in the dress of slaves, took refuge in Cæsar's camp, and thus gave to his proceedings the only thing they wanted—legality.'—*Mich.*

CIVIL WAR BETWEEN CÆSAR AND POMPEY.
B.C. 49. Cæsar crosses the Rubicon.

Cæsar master of Italy in sixty days; Pompey flies to Greece; Cæsar forces Afranius and Petreius to capitulate in Spain; but loses two legions, under Curio, in Africa, where they are defeated by the Pompeian party, under Varus and King Juba; returns to Rome: is appointed Dictator, an office which he holds only eleven days; crosses over into Greece; suffers a considerable loss at Dyrrhachium, but wins the decisive battle of *Pharsalia*, B.C. 48.

Cæsar again Dictator; the Alexandrine war, and the war with Pharnaces, son of King Mithridates ('*Veni, vidi, vici*'); crosses over into Africa; defeats the Pompeians under Scipio (Pompey's father-in-law), Cato and King Juba at *THAPSUS*, B.C. 46; returns to Rome, and celebrates his four triumphs over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Juba; reformation of the Calendar; general amnesty proclaimed.

'Had Cæsar been born on the throne, or had he lived at a time when the republic was not yet in so complete a state of dissolution, and could have been managed,—for instance, in the time of Scipio,—he would have attained the object of his life with the greatest eclat; had he lived in a republican age, he would never have thought of setting himself above the law; but he belonged to a period when he had no choice between being either the anvil or the hammer. It was not Cæsar's nature, as it was Cicero's, to go with the wind: he felt that he must seize the occurrences, and he could not avoid placing himself where he stood: the tide of events carried him thither irresistibly. Cato might still dream of the possibility of reviving the republic, and carrying it on as formerly; but the time was gone by. With regard to his character, as a military commander, it cannot be denied that he acted unconscientiously: his Gallic wars are, for the most part, truly criminal; his conduct towards the *Usipetes* and *Tenchteri* was horrible, and that towards *Vercingetorix* deplorable. These and similar acts are to be lamented, and are altogether unjustifiable, but towards his fellow-citizens he never made himself guilty of such conduct.'—*N.*

Cneius and Sextus Pompey revive the war in Spain; are defeated at the battle of *Munda*, B.C. 45. Cneius is killed. **CÆSAR RETURNS TO ROME:** his Triumph for the war in Spain: Perpetual Dictator and Imperator, and **CONSUL FOR TEN YEARS.** Cæsar's designs for the re-establishment of order, and his intended expedition against the Parthians: he adopts his great nephew, *M. Octavius* (afterwards the Emperor Augustus).

ASSASSINATION OF CÆSAR ON THE IDES OF MARCH, IN THE SENATE HOUSE, by Brutus, Cassius, Casca, Cimber, Trebonius, and others, B.C. 44.

'Goethe says somewhere that the murder of Cæsar was the most senseless act that the Romans ever committed, and a truer word was never spoken. The result of it could not possibly be any other than that which did follow the deed.'—*N.*

'Brutus' conspiracy against Cæsar can only be justified by those, if there are such, who think that a usurper ought to be got rid of in any way. But if a man is to be murdered, one does not expect those to take a part in the act, who, after being enemies, have received favours from him, and professed to be friends. The murderers should at least be a man's declared enemies who have just wrongs to avenge. Though Brutus was dissatisfied with things under Cæsar, he was not the first mover in the conspiracy. He was worked upon by others, who knew that his character and personal relation to Cæsar would, in a measure, sanctify the deed; and by their persuasion, not his own resolve, he became an assassin in the name of freedom, which meant the triumph of his party, and in the name of virtue, which meant nothing.

'The act was bad in Brutus as an act of treachery; and it was bad as an act of policy. It failed in its object, the success of a party, because the death of Cæsar was not enough: other victims were necessary, and Brutus would not have them. He put himself at the head of a plot, in which there was no plan: he dreamed of success and forgot the means. He mistook the circumstances of the times and the character of the man. His conduct after the murder was feeble and uncertain; and it was also as illegal as the usurpation of Cæsar. 'He left Rome as Prætor, without the permission of the Senate; he took possession of a province which, even according to Cicero's testimony, had been assigned to another; he arbitrarily passed beyond the boundaries of his province, and set his effigy on the coins.' (Drumann.) He attacked the Bessi, in order to give his soldiers booty, and he plundered Asia, to get money for the conflict against Cæsar and Antonius, for the mastery of Rome and Italy. The means that he had at his disposal, show that he robbed without measure and without mercy; and never was greater tyranny exercised over helpless people in the name of liberty, than the wretched inhabitants of Asia experienced from Brutus, the 'Liberator,' and Cassius 'the last of the Romans.' But all these great resources were thrown away in an ill-conceived and worse executed campaign.'—*G. L.*

M. Antony (son of Julia, sister to Cæsar) takes possession of the public treasury and of Cæsar's papers and treasure: an amnesty decreed by the Senate: tumult at the funeral of Cæsar: the conspirators forced to fly from Rome: M. Octavius (now C. J. Cæsar Octavianus) comes to Rome to claim his inheritance, forces Antony to surrender Cæsar's will, and the remainder of the treasure which Antony had not secreted. Great exasperation be-

tween Antony and Octavius. Antony and Lepidus make a fresh division of the provinces, contrary to Cæsar's will. Antony endeavours to seize Cisalpine Gaul, the province of Dec. Brutus, for himself: the Consuls Hirtius and Pansa sent with Octavianus to relieve Dec. Brutus, besieged by Antony in Mutina.

THE WAR OF MUTINA,* B.C. 43.

Antony is defeated, and joins Lepidus in Transalpine Gaul: Octavianus obtains the Consulate with his nephew Q. Pedius. The Senate completely servile.

The '*frightful Lex Pedia*,' ordaining criminal proceeding against all the accomplices in Cæsar's murder. Octavianus deserts the party of the Senate, and enters into negotiation with Antony and Lepidus. Formation of **THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE**, '*triumviri rei publicæ constituendæ*,' B.C. 43, of

Antony, Octavianus, and Lepidus. Hideous Proscriptions; merciless and wholesale butcheries: 300 Senators and 2000 knights proscribed. Murder of Cicero.

Civil War between the Oligarchy and the Republicans.

Double **BATTLE OF PHILIPPI.** Deaths of Brutus and Cassius, B.C. 42. **Termination of the long Conflict of Parties.**† Sext. Pompeius maintains the war by sea. M. Antony goes into Asia, and thence to Alexandria. Octavianus returns to Rome. Quarrels of the Oligarchy among themselves. **PERUSIAN WAR**, B.C. 41—40, of L. Antonius and Fulvia against Octavianus.

'The famine which then reigned in Rome through Pompey's blockade of the sea-coast, the misery spread through Italy by the wresting of patrimonial lands from the proprietors to distribute among the veterans, and the insatiable covetousness of Octavianus himself, rendered his situation as dangerous now as it had been before the war.'—*H.*

Perusia surrenders, and is reduced to a heap of ashes, B.C. 40.

* '*Cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari.*'—Ovid.

† See note A, at the end of this work.

'All the senators of Perugia were put to death, and from 300 to 400 noble Perusians were sent to Rome, where they were butchered like cattle at the altar of Julius Cæsar. Thus ended an undertaking which had been begun by two unprincipled persons, whose watchword was protection to the oppressed, but who by their conduct brought greater misery upon a harmless population than that which they pretended to remedy.'—S.

ANTONY AND OCTAVIANUS ARE RECONCILED: PEACE OF BRUNDISIUM, B.C. 40; AND OF MISENUM, WITH SEPT. POMPEY, B.C. 39; between whom, however, and Octavianus, war soon breaks out again—Agrippa appointed commander of the fleet—desertion of Menodorus—Pompey defeated at Mylæ, and decisively overthrown near Messina; Pompey flies to Asia, but is put to death by the order of Antony. **LEPIDUS** claims Sicily for himself, but his troops are gained over by Octavianus, and he himself **EXPULSED FROM THE TRIUMVIRATE, B.C. 36.**

Antony's War against the Parthians: he nearly incurs the fate of Crassus; and against the Armenians: Octavianus conquers the Dalmatians and Pannonians.

FINAL RUPTURE BETWEEN AUGUSTUS AND ANTONY, (who had become the slave of his evil genius, Cleopatra,) brought to a crisis by Antony's ill-treatment of his wife, Octavia, whom he divorces. 'Thus the virtues of the sister served the policy of the brother.'—*Mich.**

Antony Defeated at the Battle of Actium, B.C. 31; he deserts his army, which surrenders to Augustus, after in vain waiting seven days for Antony's return. Deaths of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt made a Roman province.

'Every barrier of the Roman constitution had been levelled by the vast ambition of the dictator; every fence had been extirpated by the cruel hand of the triumvir. After the victory of Actium the fate of the Roman world depended on the will of Octavianus, surnamed Cæsar,

* 'The fatal blunder of Antony was his shifting his ground from that of a personal quarrel, in which he might have engaged at least an equal share of the national sympathies with his rival, to put himself at the head of a foreign aggression.'—*Mer.*

by his uncle's adoption, and afterwards Augustus, by the flattery of the senate. The conqueror was at the head of forty-four veteran legions, conscious of their own strength, and of the weakness of the constitution, habituated, during twenty years' civil war, to every act of blood and violence, and passionately devoted to the house of Cæsar, from whence alone they had received and expected the most lavish rewards. The provinces, long oppressed by the ministers of the republic, sighed for the government of a single person, who would be the master, not the accomplice, of these petty tyrants. The people of Rome, viewing, with a secret pleasure, the humiliation of the aristocracy, demanded only bread and public shows, and were supplied with both by the liberal hand of Augustus. The rich and polite Italians, who had almost universally embraced the philosophy of Epicurus, enjoyed the present blessings of ease and tranquillity, and suffered not the pleasing dream to be interrupted by the memory of their old tumultuous freedom. With its power the senate had lost its dignity; many of the most noble families were extinct. The republicans of spirit and ability had perished in the field of battle, or in the proscription. The door of the assembly had been designedly left open for a mixed multitude of more than a thousand persons, who reflected disgrace upon their rank, instead of deriving honour from it.—G.

OCTAVIANUS CÆSAR SOLE MASTER OF THE STATE, B.C. 30, and End of the Republic.

RETURN OF OCTAVIANUS TO ROME. His Three Triumphs over Dalmatia, Antony, and Egypt. Temple of Janus shut, B.C. 29.

Title of Augustus conferred on Octavianus. He accepts the government* for 10 years, B.C. 27.

The Empire. A MONARCHY WITH REPUBLICAN FORMS.

* Augustus received the extraordinary powers with which he was thus invested, at first for ten, then for five, and again three times for ten years. He reserved for the senate, *pro forma*, a privilege which subsequently became its chief function. The senate had formerly been the supreme court of justice in crimes against the state; and this odious part of its functions Augustus left to the senate, being afraid of taking it upon himself. He had it in his power to increase or diminish the taxes. Italy itself was exempt from the land tax, like the baronial estates in many modern states; but it had to pay various indirect taxes, as, for example, on bequests and manumissions. Augustus divided the provinces of the empire between himself, the senate, and the

* On the forms under which Augustus held the different branches of supreme power, see the U. K. S. Hist. of Rome under the Emperors, Chap. II. throughout, and particularly p. 59.

people; just as the hereditary *stadtholder* in Holland, who was captain-general and admiral-general, and often acted contrary to the states-general. Augustus was the commander of 43, or, according to a more correct calculation, of 47 legions, and, besides, of innumerable auxilia of the Roman armies, which, together with the legions, amounted to about 450,000 men. Over these forces the senate had not the least control, and not even over the levying of the troops. The division of the provinces was made in such a manner that those in which no regular armies were kept, (Italy, as the country of the sovereign people, was of course excepted,) were assigned to the senate and people; whereas, those in which armies were stationed belonged to Augustus. His provinces yielded an incomparably larger revenue than those of the senate, but it may nevertheless have been insufficient to maintain the armies, which were stationed in fortified camps in those provinces. Two of the senatorial provinces were pro-consular, and the other prætorian provinces. The governors of the emperor's provinces, who were taken indiscriminately from among the equites, consulars, or prætorians, bore the title of *legati Augusti*, to which in inscriptions we find the addition, *pro prætore*. The governors of the senatorial provinces held their offices, according to the ancient custom, only for one year; but the *legati Augusti* held theirs for four, or five, or even for ten years, or longer; they were on the whole the better rulers, and their posts were the more lucrative than those of the senatorial provinces.—N.

Division of the Provinces. War with the Dacian Tribes. Conquest of the Cantabri and Astures; unsuccessful expedition into Arabia, B.C. 24:—Restoration of the Roman standards by the Parthians, B.C. 20:—Reduction of the Cantabri, who had revolted; and of the Rhæti and Vindelici, by Tiberius and Drusus, B.C. 15. The Pannonian Revolt quelled by Tiberius.

POWER AND EXTENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER AUGUSTUS.

Instead of being confined within the walls of fortified cities, which the Romans considered as the refuge of weakness or pusillanimity, the legions were encamped on the banks of the great rivers, and along the frontiers of the barbarians. As their stations, for the most part, remained fixed and permanent, we may venture to describe the distribution of the troops. Three legions were sufficient for Britain. The principal strength lay upon the Rhine and Danube, and consisted of sixteen legions, in the following proportions: two in the Lower and three in the Upper Germany; one in Rhætia; one in Noricum; four in Pannonia; three in Mæsia; and two in Dacia. The defence of the Euphrates was entrusted to eight legions, six of whom were planted in Syria, and the other two in Cappadocia. With regard to Egypt, Africa, and Spain, as they were far removed from any important scene of war, a single legion maintained the domestic tranquillity of each of those great provinces. Even Italy was not left destitute of a military force. Above twenty thousand

chosen soldiers, distinguished by the titles of City Cohorts and Prætorian Guards, watched over the safety of the monarch and the capital. As the authors of almost every revolution that distracted the empire, the Prætorians will very soon, and very loudly, demand our attention; but in their arms and institutions we cannot find any circumstance which discriminated them from the legions, unless it were a more splendid appearance and a less rigid discipline. The policy of the emperors was directed only to preserve the peaceful dominion of the sea, and to protect the commerce of their subjects. With these moderate views, Augustus stationed two permanent fleets in the most convenient ports of Italy, the one at Ravenna on the Adriatic, the other at Misenum in the bay of Naples. If we review this general state of the imperial forces; of the cavalry as well as infantry, of the legions, the auxiliaries, the guards, and the navy, the most liberal computation will not allow us to fix the entire establishment by sea and by land at more than four hundred and fifty thousand men; a military power which, however formidable it may seem, was equalled by a monarch of the last century, whose kingdom was confined within a single province of the Roman empire.—G.

‘The ordinary boundaries of the Roman empire, which, however, it sometimes exceeded, were, in Europe, the two great rivers of the Rhine and Danube; in Asia, the Euphrates and the sandy desert of Syria; in Africa likewise, the sandy regions. It thus included the fairest portions of the earth surrounding the Mediterranean Sea.’—H.

Tiberius adopted by Augustus, A.D. 4. He carries on the War in Germany.* Varus and his army cut off by Arminius, A.D. 9. Death of Augustus at Nola, aged 76.

‘The long and, for Italy itself, peaceable reign of Augustus, has generally been considered a fortunate and brilliant period of Roman history; and when compared with the times which preceded and followed, it certainly was so. Security of person and property were re-established; the arts of peace flourished under the benign influence of Augustus and his favourite Mæcenas; and we may add, that, as the formal restoration of the republic would only have been the signal for new commotions, the government of Augustus, if not the very best, was, at least, the best that Rome could then bear. Should it be said his private life was not blameless, it may be replied, that he inflexibly maintained an outward decency, to which, indeed, he sacrificed his only

* ‘The Roman eagles were now permanently planted upon the shores of the Rhine and the Danube. The Teutonic tribes were either swallowed up in the multitude of the Roman colonists which followed close upon the track of conquest, or driven back upon their ancient seats, and thrust as unwelcome guests upon their kinsmen in the heart of Germany. At last a power had arisen in the South of Europe, which would *submit no longer* to have its fair fields made the hunting-ground of successive swarms of barbarians; and for the first time perhaps, since the creation of man, the current of migration was dammed up, and forbidden to flow for nearly three centuries.’—Mer.

daughter; and if laws could have bettered the public morals, there was no lack of decrees for that purpose.'—*H.**

TIBERIUS, A.D. 14.

* In the history which now follows, things are different, for the history of the emperors is no longer the continuation of that which was attractive and pleasing to us in the earlier history of Rome; and the people, who formerly awakened our greatest interest, now formed a thoroughly corrupted mass: force now decides every thing, and the history itself is confined to an individual, ruling over upwards of a hundred millions of men, and to the few who next to him are the first in the state. The western parts of the Roman world preserved a feeble bond of unity in the language which was spoken by all persons of education, for the common people spoke a jargon. In the east, Greek nationality became again established.'—*N.*

THE POWER OF THE COMITIA REDUCED.

* Under him the *comitia*, assemblies of the people, were reduced to a mere shadow; as he transferred their duties to the senate, which also became the highest tribunal for the state crimes of its own members: this assembly, however, had now been so much accustomed to obey the will of the prince, that everything depended on his personal character. Tiberius founded his despotism upon the *judicia majestatis*, or accusations of high treason, now become an engine of terror, the senate also sharing his guilt with a pusillanimity and servility which knew no bounds. The foundation of the *judicia majestatis*, which soon became so terrible by the unfixed state of crime, had been laid during the reign of Augustus by the *lex Julia de majestate*, and the *cognitores extraordinarii*, or commissioners appointed to take cognizance of certain crimes: it was, however, the abuse of them by Tiberius and his successors which rendered them so dreadful.'—*H.*

War of Germanicus against the Germans, A.D. 15 & 16.
War against Tacfarinas, the Abd-el-Kader of his time; death of Germanicus, A.D. 19.

INFLUENCE OF SEJANUS, the Prætorian prefect, A.D. 23—31. Despotism and cruelty of Tiberius.

* Tiberius, and those emperors who adopted his maxims, attempted to disguise their murders by the formalities of justice; and perhaps enjoyed a secret pleasure in rendering the senate their accomplice, as well as their victim. By this assembly the last of the Romans were condemned for imaginary crimes, and real virtues. Their infamous accusers assumed the language of independent patriots, who arraigned a dangerous citizen before the tribunal of his country; and the public service was rewarded by riches and honours. The servile judges professed to assert the majesty of the commonwealth, violated in the person of its first magistrate; whose clemency they most applauded when they trembled the most at his inexorable and impending cruelty.'—*G.*

* See Note B, in Appendix, on the changes made by Augustus in the taxation.

Tiberius retires to Capræ, A.D. 26; where he dies.

'The character of Tiberius, as described by Tacitus, is a miracle of art. The historian undertook to make us intimately acquainted with a man singularly dark and inscrutable, with a man whose real disposition long remained swathed up in intricate folds of factitious virtues; and over whose actions the hypocrisy of his youth and the seclusion of his old age threw a singular mystery. He was to exhibit the specious qualities of the tyrant in a light which might render them transparent, and enable us at once to perceive the covering and the vices which it concealed. He was to trace the gradations by which the first magistrate of a republic, a senator mingling freely in debate, a noble associating with his brother nobles, was transformed into an Asiatic sultan. He was to exhibit a character distinguished by courage, self-command, and profound policy, yet defiled by all

'th' extravagancy
And crazy ribaldry of fancy.'

He was to mark the gradual effect of advancing age and approaching death on this strange compound of strength and weakness; to exhibit the old sovereign of the world sinking into a dotage, which, though it rendered his appetites eccentric and his temper savage, never impaired the powers of his stern and penetrating mind—conscious of failing strength, raging with capricious sensuality—yet to the last, the keenest of observers, the most artful of dissemblers, and the most terrible of masters. The task was one of extreme difficulty. The execution is almost perfect.—*E. R.*

C. CÆSAR CALIGULA, A.D. 37. Son of Germanicus. Assassinated by Chæreas.

T. CLAUDIUS CÆSAR, A.D. 41. The first emperor raised to the throne by the Prætorian guards; the tool of his freed-men, Pallas and Narcissus, and his wives Messalina and Agrippina.

Conquest of Britain commenced by Plautius, A.D. 43. Under the same general, Mauritania, Lycia, Judæa, A.D. 44, and Thrace were made Roman provinces.

'Of Caligula we cannot speak otherwise than as a monster; but Claudius deserves our deepest pity, though he did evil things, which show that there was some bad element in his nature.'—*N.*

NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR, A.D. 54; the last of the house of Cæsar.

Murder of Britannicus, Agrippina, and Octavia. Insurrection in Britain of Queen Boadicea. Great fire at Rome, and persecution of the Christians, A.D. 65. Commencement of the war against the Jews, A.D. 66.

Revolt of J. Vindex in Gaul, and of Galba in Spain.

'There can be no doubt that Nero was a madman, though not in the same degree as Caligula.'—N.

SERV. SULP. GALBA, A.D. 68. Revolt of the troops under A. Cæcina and Fab. Valens on the Rhine. Galba murdered by the Prætorians.

M. OTHO, A.D. 69. Revolt of Vitellius. Battle of Bedriacum: Otho commits suicide.

VITELLIUS, A.D. 69. The Syrian troops under Mucianus, and the army of the Danube under Anton. Primus, proclaim Vespasian: they kill Vitellius in Rome. The capitol is burnt in the tumults.

FLAVIUS VESPASIAN, A.D. 69. He leaves Titus to finish the war against the Jews. Jerusalem taken, A.D. 70. Insurrection of the Batavians under Civilis, suppressed by Cerealis. Restoration of the Finances. The power of the Senate fixed, and the '*judicia majestatis*' annulled.

'Vespasian reigned upwards of nine years, and his government was thoroughly beneficial to the Roman world.'—N.

TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIAN, A.D. 79. 'There seems to be no reason for doubting that, previous to his accession, the general opinion was against Titus. This state of feeling, it is true, afterwards changed, but this *amor et delicia generis humani* is nevertheless a strange phenomenon.'—N.*

Eruption of Mount Vesuvius, overthrow of Herculæum and Pompeii, A.D. 79. Completion of the Colosseum. Campaigns of Agricola in Britain, A.D. 80.

L. FLAVIUS DOMITIAN, A.D. 81.

'Caligula and Nero were monsters: the former, indeed, was a madman. The cruelty of Domitian lay within the bounds of human nature; but it was that of a thoroughly bad man, and arose from the human propensity to envy others, and to delight in their misfortunes.'—N.

'The despotism of Domitian was founded upon his armies, whose

* 'But heavier far the fetter'd captive's doom!
To glut with sighs the iron ear of Rome:
To swell, slow pacing by the ear's tall side,
The stoic tyrant's philosophic pride.'—HEBER'S Palestine.

pay he augmented one-fourth.'—*H.* Informers employed, and the *judicia majestatis* multiplied. Agricola defeats Galgacus, A.D. 84. Unsuccessful war against the Quadi, Marcomanni, and Dacians, under their King Dacebalus, 'a man of great character, and worthy to rule over them in those dangerous times.'—*N.* Persecution of the Christians, A.D. 95.

M. ULPÍUS TRAJAN, A.D. 98, 'the best of the Roman monarchs.'

Restoration of the Roman Constitution.

'He was the first foreigner who ascended the Roman throne; and at the same time the first of their monarchs who was equally great as a ruler, a general, and a man. After completely abolishing the *judicia majestatis*, he made the restoration of the *free Roman constitution*, so far as it was compatible with a monarchical form, his peculiar care. He restored the elective power to the *comitia*, complete liberty of speech to the senate, and to the magistrates their former authority; and yet he exercised the art of ruling to a degree, and in a detail, which few princes have equalled. Frugal in his expenses, he was nevertheless splendidly liberal to every useful institution, whether in Rome or in the provinces, as well as in the foundation of military roads, public monuments, and schools for the instruction of poor children. By his wars, he extended the dominion of Rome beyond its former boundaries; subduing, in his contests with the Daci, their country, and reducing it to a Roman province; as he likewise did, in his wars against the Armenians and Parthians, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and part of Arabia.'—*H.*

Conquests of Trajan. The Empire extended.

'Trajan marched into Armenia, where he received the homage of the people, but did not deprive them of their king, who received his kingdom as a fief from Trajan. The war against the Parthians, like those against the Dacians, is rich in great events, which, however, I have not time to enter into. Trajan took Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and many other towns, and advanced as far as the ocean, that is, the Persian Gulf. He had intended to complete the conquest of Arabia, and he now made an incursion into that country, concerning which we have but scanty information. Thus much, however, is certain, that he made Arabia, as far as Medina, a Roman province, and received the homage of the native princes. The wars under Trajan extended as far as Nubia, and Nubia itself came under the dominion of Rome, and remained under it till the middle of the third century.'—*N.*

P. AELIUS HADRIAN, A.D. 117.

He gives up, for the sake of preserving peace, the newly-acquired provinces of Asia, Armenia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia, maintaining of Trajan's conquests only Dacia.

'Hadrian was the first Roman emperor who understood his real position as master of the world, not merely as the sovereign of Rome and

Italy. He erected great buildings in all parts of the empire, and travelled through all the provinces, and from the cataracts of the Nile to the frontiers of Scotland, there was probably not one province of the empire he did not visit.—N.

Development of Roman jurisprudence. The *Edictum Perpetuum*. Organization of the *Principis Consistorium*. Corruption of the Latin Language. The *Moles Hadriani*, and Hadrian's wall in Britain.

Great Revolt of the Jews under Barcochab, A.D. 132—135.

'580,000 Jews are said to have perished in this war; numbers of them were sold into slavery, and the great scattering of the nation dates from this time.'—S.

ANTONINUS PIUS, A.D. 138. 'His reign, without doubt the happiest period of the Roman empire.'—H. The Christians tolerated and protected. 'Peace, during this reign, remained unbroken, with the exception of some rebellions in Britain and in Egypt, and some frontier wars excited by the Germans, the Daci, the Moors, and the Alani, which were quelled by the lieutenants of the emperor.'—H.

Decay of the warlike spirit of the legions.

'The golden age of Trajan and the Antonines had been preceded by an age of iron. It is most superfluous to enumerate the unworthy successors of Augustus. Their unparalleled vices, and the splendid theatre on which they were acted, have saved them from oblivion. The dark, unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the feeble Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the beastly Vitellius, and the timid, inhuman Domitian, are condemned to everlasting infamy. During fourscore years, (excepting only the short and doubtful respite of Vespasian's reign,) Rome groaned beneath an unremitting tyranny, which exterminated the ancient families of the republic, and was fatal to almost every virtue and every talent that arose in that unhappy period.'—G.

M. AURELIUS ANTONINUS, A.D. 161, (the philosopher) 'certainly the noblest character of his time.'—N. associates with himself in the government L. Verus, under the title of Augustus.

War against the Parthians, and the Northern nations, who now began to press forward: *THE FIRST SYMPTOM OF THE GREAT MIGRATIONS OF NATIONS NOW BEGINNING.* 'The contest is con-

tinued, during the whole of his reign, with varying success against the Marcomanni, Alani, Jazyges, Quadi, and Sarmatæ.—*S.* ‘Aurelius succeeded, indeed, in maintaining the boundaries of the empire, but then he was the first who settled any of the barbarians within it, or took them into the Roman service.’—*H.*

‘The long period of peace had destroyed the military discipline and the vigorous energy of the armies, and the whole of the Roman world had sunk into a state of languor; sensuality, love of pleasure, and idleness, were rapidly gaining the upper hand. The German nations were compelled, by Slavonic tribes, either to seek the protection of Rome, in case of her armies on the frontier being strong enough, or to take refuge in her dominions.’—*N.*

Rebellion of Avidius Cassius in Syria, terminated by his death.

‘Dreadful pestilence (the real Oriental plague) during this reign; spreading over the western world, raging with incredible fury, and carrying off innumerable victims.’—*N.*

M. COMMODUS ANT., A.D. 180, the last of the family of the Antonines—‘a monster of cruelty, insolence, and depravity.’—*H.*

Incursions of the Bastarnæ and Alani into Dacia. Perennis, the Prefect of the Prætorians, at the head of the Government. The Caledonians are defeated. Commodus is assassinated.

‘During a long period of two hundred and twenty years, down to the death of Commodus, the dangers inherent to a military government were, in a great measure, suspended. The soldiers were seldom roused to that fatal sense of their own strength, and of the weakness of the civil authority, which was, before and afterwards, productive of such dreadful calamities. Caligula and Domitian were assassinated in their palace by their own domestics; the convulsions which agitated Rome on the death of the former were confined to the walls of the city. But Nero involved the whole empire in his ruin. In the space of eighteen months four princes perished by the sword, and the Roman world was shaken by the fury of the contending armies. Excepting only this short, though violent, eruption of military licence, the two centuries from Augustus to Commodus passed away unstained with civil blood, and undisturbed by revolutions. The emperor was elected by the *authority of the senate and the consent of the soldiers*. The legions respected their oath of fidelity; and it requires a minute inspection of the Roman annals to discover three inconsiderable rebellions, which were all suppressed in a few months, and without even the hazard of a battle.’—*G.*

Among the later emperors may be noticed

SEPT. SEVERUS, A.D. 193.

‘The frontiers of the empire again extended.’

DIOCLETIAN, A.D. 284. ‘With him begins a new section in Roman history. To the period of military despotism succeeded the period of partitions.’—*H.*

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, A.D. 306.

‘However opposite may be the opinions formed respecting the reign of Constantine the Great, its consequences are perfectly plain. Although he annihilated military despotism, he established in its stead, if not completely, yet in great measure, the despotism of the court, and likewise the power of the hierarchy. For an empire fallen so low as the Roman was at this time, despotism was almost the only support that remained.’—*H.*

*SEAT OF THE EMPIRE TRANSFERRED
TO CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 330.*

‘The various partitions of the empire from the time of Diocletian had led the way to this change of the capital.’—*H.*

**Division of the Empire between the Sons
of Theodosius.**

HONORIUS, EMPEROR OF THE WEST, }	A.D. 395	{ ARCADIUS, OF THE EAST.
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ROME TAKEN BY ALARIC, A.D. 410.

ROME TAKEN BY GENSERIC, A.D. 455.

ROME TAKEN BY ODOACER, A.D. 476. DEPO-
SITION OF ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS.

End of the Western Empire.

**SIEGE AND TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE
BY THE TURKS, UNDER MOHAMMED II., A.D.
1453.**

End of the Eastern Empire.

APPENDIX.

Note A, on page 62.

* OUR readers are for the most part aware that the grand feature of the civil contests in the Roman Commonwealth was, throughout, the struggle of one favoured class to maintain its exclusive privileges against another of a different origin, but blended with it in one body politic. The first phase of this struggle was that between the patricians and plebeians, strictly so called: when this contest terminated in the admission of the inferior class to substantially equal privileges, peace was for a time obtained. But the progress of external conquest gradually created a similar distinction of classes upon a larger scale. The citizens of Rome, patrician and plebeian, whether living in the city or established in colonies, jealously maintained the distinctive privileges, lucrative and influential as they were, which they enjoyed as such. The conquered states of Italy, admitted into alliance and a certain limited communion with Rome, but refused the complete franchise and its privileges, now stood in an analogous relation to the Roman people with that of the ancient plebeians to the patricians. The social wars formed the crisis of the long struggle for these privileges, and terminated in the enfranchisement of the Italians. However, it was still in the power of the Roman, or exclusive party, to neutralise these concessions to a considerable extent; and then it was that the Italians began, like the plebeians of old, to look for allies among the ranks of their opponents. Marius himself, the great leader of the foreign party, was an Italian; but many of his adherents were Romans, hostile to the domination of the old aristocratic families, and anxious, by whatever means, to obtain an ascendancy for themselves. The contest, as is usual in such cases, gradually lost the character of a domestic and foreign, and acquired much of that of an aristocratic and popular struggle. Thus, during the success of the aristocratic party under Sylla, they tried to impose checks upon the influence of the plebeians, who had become almost identified with the Italians, or rather, absorbed in their multitude. Pompey succeeded to the post of Sylla at the head of this party, while Cæsar assumed the leadership of the other. The one fought for the integrity of the senate, and such exclusive privileges as were still enjoyed by the old aristocratic families of Rome, of whom the senate was still almost entirely composed. The other was expected to break down every barrier which opposed the complete union of the Italian population in a single sovereign nation. Perhaps Pompey's utter inability to make head *against his rival in Italy* may be taken as an evidence of the *unpopularity of his cause throughout the Peninsula, and the people's sense*

of the important advantages which would follow to them from Cæsar's success. The conflict which followed after the death of Cæsar bears some characteristics of the old aristocratic and popular struggle; and in this, too, we find the leaders of the former party obliged to abandon Italy, and carry on the contest in the provinces. The same might have been observed of the attempts of Cato and the sons of Pompey. But the fall of Brutus and Cassius was a final death-blow to the cause of the old Roman aristocracy; and Tacitus emphatically remarks, '*Bruto et Cassio cæsis, nulla jam publica arma.*'—Ann. i. 2.—*Mer.*

Note B, on page 67.

THE principal changes which he made in the old system of taxation seem to have been, that the tithes hitherto collected in the provinces should be changed into a fixed quota, to be paid by each individual. The customs, partly by re-establishing former ones, and partly by imposing new ones, as well as an excise, (*centesima rerum venalium*), were rendered more productive. The possession of Egypt, which was the depôt of nearly all the commerce of the East, rendered the customs at this time of great importance to Rome. All the state lands in the provinces were by degrees changed into crown lands. Of the new taxes, the most considerable were the *vicesima hereditatum*, (the twentieth of inheritances,) though with important restrictions, and the fines upon celibacy by the *lex Julia Poppæa*.—*N.*

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF JULIUS CÆSAR.
(FROM HEEREN AND OTHERS.)

C. Julius Cæsar, prætor.

C. Julius Cæsar, Dictator.

Julia, m. Pompey.

Octavia the elder, (daugh. to
C. Octavius, by Ancharia,
his 1st wife,) m. M. Marcellus.

Octavia the younger, m.
1, C. Marcellus; 2, Pompey;
3, M. Antony.

Julia, m. Atius Balbus.

Atia, m. C. Octavius.

C. Octavius,
(Cæsar Augustus.)

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